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# A MUTE GENOSIDE

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# GENOCIDE

A report on the gory incidents
of violence on Karnataka
Tamils during the Black
December 1991

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We begin the report on the December 1991 anti-Tamil riots in Karnataka with our homage to the fellow Tamils who were martyred. Chauvinism had taken toll of many lives. A few of those who died in the police firings are known. Unknown remains the actual count of those felled by the choppers, knives and clubs which the chauvinist marauders wielded. How do we console the Tamil womanhood which was subjected to the heinous crimes of rape and molestation? Infants of a few months old are also reported to be victims! We mourn them all and do weep mutely for them. But we have to tell the fellow humans, all over, as to what happened to the Karnataka Tamils in the bloody December of 1991. We have to tell so, in order that it should not happen again.

Most of these reports gathered are based on what the affected Tamils told us when they sought support and succour from the Tamil Sangam. Whereas the other ordeals of the tens of thousands of Tamil who fled Karnataka as refugees to Tamilnadu are little known. The illiterate and helpless toiling Tamils' first preference was to catch the first available train or other conveyances to flee to Tamilnadu, and so they go almost unrepresented in the report. We are therefore left with no option than to include a few highlighted newspaper reportings on certain incidents of grievous nature told by the refugees in Tamilnadu.

***Bangalore Tamil Sangam***

# A MUTE GENOCIDE

On the pretext of opposing the gazetting of the interim order of the Cauvery Waters Tribunal, an orgy of violence was unleashed on the Tamils in Karnataka, before and after the Karnataka Bundh of December 13, 1991. The brunt of the attack was the western segment of the city of Bangalore.

Those who had organised the violence on Tamils are none other than those who are on the saddles of power in the State. It is widely held that the Chief Minister himself is the villain of the peace. We recall the statement of the Janata Dal leader, Mr. Ramakrishna Hegde who unswervingly holds that the large-scale violence was "blatantly organised by the (Karnataka) Government to divert issues" (***Deccan Herald***, 17-12-1991).

They are cheeky enough to sell the myth that the orgy of violence was a spontaneous outburst of the Kannadigas' sentiments against the Supreme Court advising the Centre to gazette the interim order of the Tribunal If that be so, in what way the Karnataka Tamils could be held responsible for the Tribunal's order? Did these Tamils in Karnataka ever express any adverse view on the matter?

The anti-Tamil riots were not spontaneous as made out by the perpetrators of the violence. "Almost all residents of the riot-ravaged localities of the city feel that the violence that rocked them for four days was instigated. People who this reporter spoke to were sure that the trouble-makers came from elsewhere", said the ***Indian Express*** (17-12-1991).

The State Government announced the closure of schools and colleges for 10 days on Dec 12, 1991. It tells the subleties in planning the State-organised violence on Tamils. Chief Minister Mr. Bangarappa threatening of Karnataka becoming another Punjab would reinforce this opinion.

Going by the genesis and growth of Kannada chauvinism in the State, we take these riots as the logical end of the politics of

Tamil-baiting, which the Karnataka Government itself has been incubating since the early seventies. The Kannada Chaluvali movement always had been a hate-Tamil movement, in essence and orientation, rather than an expression of the genuine Kannada ethnic awareness and consciousness.

The violent agitation of the Kannadigas demanding the implementation of the Gokak Committee Report which curbed the basic human right of the Tamil children learning their mother tongue, the death of 5 Tamil youth at KGF in the police firing in the anti-Gokak agitation of 1982, the police firing at the same place the next year killing two Tamil youth, the violence unleashed on Tamils following the alleged attack on actor Rajkumar at Ooty in 1984, etc., were all limited flare ups arising out of the anti-Tamil perversion of the State's politics. The unconcerned attitude of the State to the victims of the hooch tragedy of 1983, wherein more than 1,000 Tamils had died, foretold the pathological dislike of Tamils becoming the guiding spirit of politics in Karnataka.

***Well-Planned***

The backdrop and pattern of the offensive launched clearly show that the violence on Tamils is deliberate, and should have been preplanned at least before six months in advance. It is the politics by "other means", if we are to borrow words from Clausewitz.

A few of the opposition party leaders in the State had at least belatedly accused that the master mind behind the anti-Tamil violence was the very Chief Minister, Mr. S. Bangarappa. Mr. Deva Gowda of the Samajawadi Janata Party had in a statement accused the Home Minister, Mr. N. Dharam Singh, as having instructed the police not to quell the anti-Tamil riots. He had urged the President of India to dismiss the Karnataka Government, 'if the reports that Home Minister N. Dharam Singh had directed the police to remain quiet during bundh period were true, he should be sacked from the Ministry". (***Deccan Herald***, 21-12-1991). Such a nefarious politicking of the chauvinist sentiments and that of the Government itself organising the anti-Tamil riots had led the

ted to the Victoria Hospital at Bangalore, had died later. The family had to flee to Tamilnadu leaving the dead body in the hospital. Amirthalinagam's wife Padmavati was raped.

Govindasamy, a Binny Mill worker residing at Kempapura Agraharam, had sent his family to Arani, his home town, his wife Leelavathi (25), and his three children Hemavati (9), Lokesh (3) and Geetha (5), telling that he would join them later after receiving his salary. He was killed by the Kannada goons on the night of Dec 14, and the door was locked. The news of his death was known only when his house was broke open on Dec 26 by the neighbours. On learning the tragic news the family returned, and the last rites took place on Dec 27.

Suresh (18), who worked in a small provision store at Kamalanagar, was going to open the shop in the morning hours of Dec 13. He was being accompanied by two other Tamils, Ganesan and Muthu. They were stripped by the chauvinist goons who intercepted them and beaten up by iron rods and clubs until they fainted. The policemen who came thereafter were said to have taken them to a private nursing home at Dasarahalli. The nursing home just gave them some first aid and refused to admit them for treatment. Three youths remained in a semiconscious state on the grass lawns by the side of the road and opposite to the nursing home for more than a hour. Suresh asked for water to drink. When he was given some water, he vomited it along with blood, and died. When the other two could manage to inform the owner of the shop, Suresh's body was removed by the Kamakshipalayam police to the Victoria Hospital. He could be cremated only on Dec 17, 1991.

A Tamil youth, who was to be married on Jan 25, was mauled very badly by the goons at Saibabanagar within the Sriramapuram police limits, when the riots were in full swing. He was beaten up right before a posse of the police, which never intervened to stop it. As the youth fell unconscious, his relatives dared to remove him to the hospital. But the chauvinists never allowed him to be removed, and the boy died on the very spot thereafter.

Mr. Gangadharan, a Tamil industrialist, and his wife were not at home when his house was attacked, looted and ransacked on Dec 13. His aged mother, who was alone at home, was attacked by the goons who wielded a tube light and clubs. She was hospitalised later, and died after ten days.

The house of mason Subramani at 641, Kamalanagar was looted on Dec 15. On seeing that it was about to be set on fire by the chauvinist goons, he dared to stop them. He was attacked by iron rods and clubs, and lost consciousness. His relatives fled to their native place 152 Puttur in Tamilnadu, where he died on Dec 16, leaving behind his five children. He had no property whatsoever in Tamilnadu, and his relatives helped only to bury him. His son Devan could not get a death certificate as the authorities in Tamilnadu were demanding Rs. 200 to 300 as bribe.

Srinivasan, an Indian Telephone Industries (ITI) worker and a resident of Ramachandrapuram, was stabbed to death at Sriramapuram 7th Main Road on the 5th Cross turning while he was going by a moped on Dec 13. He was the sole earning member of his family and leaves behind 5 children.

A Tamil is reported to have breathed his last as his kidney was damaged when he was manhandled alternatively by the chauvinist goons and the police. His 10 year old son Arumugam was a witness to the tragedy. When the hooligans attacked the house of an Tamil officer of Bharat Electronics, the officer managed to escape, but his wife's two hands were chopped off.

Jayapal of Oosur' who was doing casting work at the Mohan Materials, was killed by the goons at his slum at Nandini Layout by the side of the Kanteerava Studio. He leaves his wife Jayalaxmi and two of her sons Manohar and Anbu (20). Of them, Anbu's hand was chopped off by the chauvinist attackers.

Sherief (60), a Muslim driver from Tamilnadu, was shot dead at point blank range within the Malleswaram police station by the police officer, for he questioned their outrages on Tamils.

Many Tamils are reported missing. Mohan (19), a Tamil who used to weave mosquito nets at Kamakshipalayam, is one such person missing from Dec 13, 1991.

Anniammal (65), the mother in-law of lawyer Killivalavan of Sriramapuram was alone when the house was ransacked and looted by the goons. She was mauled and bore many marks of bleeding. The family wonders as how such an old lady could survive after so much of a barbarous assault on her person. Jewels worth Rs. 45,000 and a cash of Rs 5,000 were stolen from the house. The Total loss is at Rs. 65,000

A dumb Tamil girl of 20 years saw the mad running of the police towards her house at Prakashnagar. She sensed trouble and immediately hid her two brothers under the cot. She was madly manhandled by the police and was dragged to the police station, where she was again assaulted and reported to have been molested. When some Tamils went to redeem her, the police tried to foist a case on her and her brothers under the Suppression of Immoral Traffic Act. Enraged by this outrageous behaviour of the chauvinist police, the Tamil women folk marched to the police station and threw a siege around it. The girl could be retrieved only due to the mass action of the Tamil women of the area. People say that they had seen a heap of yellow ***thali*** threads in the police station.

At Thavarakere, behind the Christ College, two Tamils were maimed by the Chauvinist goons on Dec 13. The police refused to register their complaints and chased out those who went to complain. The chauvinists drove out 50 Tamil families from this area. An arm of Arunachalam, the father of motherless twin girls, was maimed at Kurubarahalli on Dec 15.

At a place called Hosa Road, posters forbidding Tamils from collecting water from the public taps were prominently displayed on a overhead tank

The house of the Secretary of the Hindustan Machine Tools Watch Factory Tamil Mandram, Mr. A. L. Sathyanarayanan, was looted on the 5th Cross at Sriramapuram on Dec 13, when he and

his wife had been to work. The loss of property was at Rs. 1 lakh, which includes 16 sovereigns of jewels.

There was a common pattern in the goons' attacks on the middle class Tamils. They invariably tried to put on the LPG and lit a fire.

Cattle owned by Tamils were butchered at Vijayanagar on Dec 15.

When there was a serious break down of law and order in the State, the Chief Minister Mr. Bangarappa bothered not to stay in the city and restore normalcy. He took pleasure to fly to Pune to attend a music function on Dec 14,1991. A few papers had come out with editorials calling him a modern Nero who fiddled when Bangalore was afire.

***Mercenary Vandalism***

As a cover up, the Government of Karnataka and the Bangalore Dooradarshan began hawking the story that the riots were the handiwork of anti socials, and they were never aimed at the Tamils in particular. Whereas newspapers had reported that Tamils' houses were identified through milkmen, paper boys and others, before the attacks begun. ***Indian Express*** had reported that these marauding gangs "singled out even small industries run by Tamils and set them ablaze" (17.12.1991). If at all any non-Tamil house was attacked, it was for the reason that they tried to shelter their Tamil neighbours to save them from attacks by outsiders. Mr. A.K. Subbaiah, a Congress leader, was specific in telling that Tamils alone were the targets of violent attacks. He was quoted as saying that a particular non-Tamil shop was left untouched when all other shops owned by Tamils on the Magadi Road were looted and torched (***Dinamani***, 26-12-1991)

The main feature of the heinous attacks was to drive the Tamils out of the very State. Breaking down the asbestos roof sheets of the Tamils' houses and destroying the buildings by burning or otherwise was a common feature. Forcibly obtaining the ownership titles of Tamils (or ***Pattas*** in case of the slum-

dwellers) and later burning them down before their properties were looted, destroyed and burnt, would testify to their grand design of causing an exodus of Tamils to Tamilnadu. During the week after the gory bundh, more than 1,00,000 Bangalore Tamils had fled to Tamilnadu. The exodus is continuing in small dribbles. Whereas the Home Minister Mr. Dharam Singh spreads a veil of unashamed lie telling that there was no large-scale migration of Tamils from Bangalore (***Deccan Herald***,18-12-1991).

Importing thousands of mercenaries from the other districts, like Mandya, Bhadravati and Gulbarga, on a daily payment of Rs. 400 plus food and drinks, and then transporting them to Tamil areas and slums to attack Tamils and their properties is another feature of the December violence on Tamils. Local vandals were paid Rs. 80-300 per day. Three-fourth of the vehicles carrying these goons to Tamil settlements did not have any number plates There are reported instances of the traffic policemen chit - chatting with the vandals in these numberless vehicles. There are eye-witnesses accounts on hundreds of the chauvinist goons alighting a train from Bangalore at Bhadravati on Dec 15. Obviously, they were a segment of the vandals hired in to attack the Tamils in Bangalore. Students and lumpen hordes were roused on chauvinist appeals; and were mobilised either to join or identify the Tamil houses and concerns.

There were many sporadic attacks on the slums inhabited by Tamils in the past. But the present pattern and magnitude are different. Looting, ransacking, burning and razing buildings, plants and machinery of small, medium and big industries, godowns, raw materials, finished and semifinished products, lorries and other vehicles, shops and business establishments owned by the Tamils were on an unprecedented scale. The rich among the Tamils had been attacked for the first time. Even the upper caste Tamils, who never stood by the oppressed Tamils while their slums were attacked, were the victims of ethnic violence on a bigger scale for the first time. Many cinema tents showing Tamil movies were burnt down completely; and few regular cinema halls too were attacked. Co-optex stores belonging to the Tamil-

nadu Government were looted and set ablaze. Plastic factories of Tamils were also torched on the Mysore Road. Closed shops and establishments of Tamils were also broke open and destroyed.

A soap factory owned by one Mr. Guruswamy Pandian at Kamakshipalayam was looted and razed. Nothing is known of the whereabouts of the family of Mr. Pandian till now. Factories and other industries owned by Tamils in the Rajajinagar Industrial Estate were all ransacked and set on fire. The total loss suffered by S. S. Pandian Asafoetida Company would be around Rs. 17 lakhs (Rs. 1.1 lakhs worth of products, 8 lakhs worth of buildings, etc). The loss suffered by Sobhana Offset Printers would be at Rs. 1.35 crores. The vandals came to attack the printing press o Dec 13 at 12.30 p.m. They returned telling that they would be back again at 3.00 p.m., as they could not so easily break open the locked press. They did return at 3 00 p m., ransacked the press and set it on fire. The press was burning for 2 full days, with no fire or police reaching there!

A company named Navele Brothers, owned by one Mr. B.R. Vasuki, was producing nylon threads. The loss to the company due to arson is at Rs. 50 lakhs. The inferno caused by the vandals was so intense that the aluminium boiler which used to be heated up to 1000 degrees Centigrade itself was a molten mass!

Leotech in the Rajajinagar Industrial Estate was a company producing plastic items like switch-boards to the ISI standards. It had its full fledged modern tool room and well-equipped laboratory besides test equipments for plastics. Its buildings were completely damaged. The company had suffered loss to the extent of Rs. 1.25 crores. The factory which was set ablaze on Dec 13 was burning even on Dec 29 ! Mr. George Fernandez, MP, who visited the factory on Dec 28 is said to have informed the Fire Brigade on the same day. But the Fire Brigade was yet to show up even on the next day! More than the buildings, plant and machinery, etc, the company is upset over the complete destruction of its library, worth Rs 15 lakhs, which had a good collection of rare books on plastic manufacturing.

Weavers from Sampangiramanagar, who are mostly from Salem, had fled the State, and it had affected the textile industries in the locality.

The Karnataka State Small-Scale Industries Association (KASSIA) had surveyed the industries which were destroyed by the anti-Tamil riots. Accordingly, 73 industries were burnt and destoryed totally. The total loss of plants and machinery alone would be at Rs 25 crores. Sixty industries had their buildings totally damaged. The loss to these buildings alone would be Rs. 1 crore. The loss of production would be at Rs. 100 crores. Moreover the loss to the State Government in terms of the Commercial Tax due to the destruction of these industries is estimated to be at Rs. 30 crores per month. That means, the loss could be Rs 360 crores for the year! KASSIA had therefore held out a threat that if the claim for compensation to these industries is not settled within March 31,1992, it would direct its members not to pay Commercial Tax to the government.

The President of the Federation of Karnataka Chamber of Commerce and Industry (FKCCI), Mr. S. Philip Lewis, had claimed in a press note on January 1,1992, that the total loss to industrial and public property and vehicles exceed Rs. 100 crores. Along with the destruction of plants and machinery, many vital documents of industries had been burnt. Research and Development relating to these industries have also suffered (***Deccan Herald***, 2-1-1992)

The Confederation of Engineering Industry (CEI) had said that the law and order situation in Karnataka would affect the future investment in the State. The Confederation's Karnataka Committee had urged in a statement on Jan 2,1992 that the situation had not yet returned to normal industrial activity due to the flight of [Tamil] labour force and the interruption of raw materials causing disruption in production (***Deccan Herald***, 3-1-1992).

The Centre dispatching its observer Mr. Arah, the Joint Secretary to the Home Department of the Government of India, is a farce and eye-wash. The Police Commissioner, who is said to have taken Mr. Arah on a State Government's conducted tour for

an "on-the-spot study" of the law and order situation in the State, was meticulous enough to see that the Centre's Observer did not speak to the Tamil industrialists who had suffered such grave losses. The whisper around is that he was aptly entertained.

Tamils in the State at large would have suffered a total loss of about 300 crores in these riots ; and this may cover the loss to buildings, plant and machinery, raw materials, finished and semi-finished products of industries, farm crops, etc., as also the loss of production.

After visiting the riot-torn areas, Mr. Ramakrishna Hegde had told that the Tamil-owned Subhadra Textile Mills, which had 300 Kannadiga workers on its pay rolls alone had lost Rs. 25 crores. Its plant and machinery, stocks of cloth meant for export, etc., were all looted, ransacked and consigned to flames. He is also reported to have said that the riot-torn segment of the city "resembled the areas of New Delhi which were rocked by violence that broke out following Indira Gandhi's murder in 1984" (***Dinamani,*** 24-12 1991).

Umashankar Industries at Kamalanagar was also set ablaze after it was ransacked. Two rigs of a borewell company of a Tamil at Kurubarahalli, each costing Rs. 35 lakhs, were destroyed. The owner's house was looted and his family's jewels were stolen. Many middle class families too were looted, and their houses were burnt. All these characterise the recent violence on Tamils as the one which was premeditated and well orchestrated. This is another eature of the State-organised violence on Tamils. Be it rich or pcor, Tamils had to run for life, with no clothes to change and with no next meal assured. Most of them were virtually starving. Those who ventured to return to the burnt and razed homes had to face the severe cold winter nights, and go without even a spread to cover their children and the aged.

The worst affected areas of the city are Kamalanagar, Rishabavathinagar, Kurubarahalli, Kamakshipalayam, Sanjaynagar, Ashokapuram, Mahatma Gandhinagar, Yeshwantapuram, Peenya, Dasarahalli, Krishnanagar, Mahalaxmi Layout, Lakkeri, Rajajinagar,

Magadi Road, Prakashnagar, Sriramapuram, Ramachandrapuram, Subramaniyanagar, Malleswaram, Seshadripuram, City Market, Gokula, etc.

***Tamil Women Raped***

Resorting to rape and agonising molestation of Tamil women is another feature of the anti-Tamil violence. Tamils fleeing the city expressed that they could have somehow with stood the physical assaults on them and their properties but not that of the chauvinist goons laying hands on their women and indulging in outrages like raping and stripping. A Tamil woman's saree was pulled out and her blouse was torn with a knife, before the ***Dina Tanthi*** office at the 6th Block of Rajajinagar, and she was made to run naked

Many Tamil women were seen covering their bodies by cinema posters peeled off from the walls, both for hiding their nudity and for cold, it was reported,

A Tamil women at the BTM Layout, who had delivered a baby just five days ago, pleaded desperately with the Kannada goons to leave her unharmed at least by looking at her five-day-old baby. The brutalised vandals did not spare, and gang-raped her. Another Tamil woman was raped right in front of her husband and son, who lay tied up, when the Kannada goons looted and burnt Gowdan-palayam.

Sixteen-year-old daughter of Kannappan of Rajajinagar, who is now a refugee in Tamilnadu, is reported to have been gang-raped (***Dinamani***, 27-12-1991).

Ponnammal (25), wife of Thangaraj and a construction worker, was corried away by the chauvinist goons, after her house at Malleswaram was attacked on the midnight of Dec 26. She was gang-raped by five goons, who later tried to kill her. As she lost her consciousness due to the attack those goons thwought she was dead and left thereafter When she regained consciousness the next day, she could not find her husband and two children, Suresh (5) and Kumar (3). When she managed to reach the Vani Vilas Hospital at the City Market, she was not even given first aid, and was

driven out for the reason that she was a Tamil! Somehow she could reach the Bangalore City Railway Station to board a train and reach Madras. She had bloody wounds all over her body, and her face was swollen and a few teeth were infirm. She was reported to be undergoing treatment at the Government General Hopital (***Dinakaran***, 29-12-1991).

At Hegganahalli, Peenya II Stage, there are 400 hutments on the Antharahalli Main Road. The chauvinist goons who attacked the Tamils of the slum were reported to have carried away and raped many Tamil women.

The wife of a watchman at Kumaraswamypalyam was stripped naked and then killed by driving a big nail on her chest.

Nagamma (22), wife of Jayaraj of Mahatma Gandhinagr was stripped and the chauvinists molested her by laying hands on her breasts in turns. Her ***thali*** was removed. Her family is roofless and she has two young kids. Manimegalai, wife of Arumugam of the same locality, who was hit by the chauvinist marauders on Dec 13 could regain her conscience only on the 24th Dec, after being an inpatient at a hospital The blow on her head had affected her sight. Having had lost everything when her house was looted, she is worried about her two kids, and laments that only a few days before the tragedy she had purchased articles worth Rs. 3,500.

Forcing the Tamil women to show their ***thalis*** (***mangalasutras***) and pulling out the gold in them, if they were Tamil women, is another feature very widely reported. This is a gruesome crime committed on the Tamil women. Such outrages were more in areas like Kamakshipalayam, Swathantharanagar, etc. John Thomas wrote in the ***Deccan Herald*** dated Dec 23, 1991 :

> "The thali, meant as an eye catching talisman, saved Kamala where it did not help many others.
>
> "The young labourer from Bangalore's western outskirts had changed the colour of the string to black on the black day of

December 13 when the symbol of matrimony risked being seen as a symbol of her ethnicity".

At Hanumanthapuram in the Sriramapuram limits, and the like, even the policemen had indulged in such crimes on the Tamil women. Vulgarities of abuses hurled on the Tamil women was to an unbelievable mark.

There are cases of the chauvinists pouring gutter weters into the mouths of women telling that it is the Cauvery water they have been asking for. There are many Anjalais who fled Karnataka as refugees with infants aged below a month.

***The Police Part***

There are reports that the Kannada policemen themselves were scouting the chauvinist goons to attack Tamil settlements. At a place in Peenya, the police came first, and the goons followed them. A police inspector was said to have instructed the vandals behind his police party that they should attack the Tamils only after they hear him fire in the air.

Even in areas where the Tamils' huts were burnt down in hundreds, the police had refused to accept oral or written complaints from the Tamil victims. This is the other facet of their stoically refusing to put down the heinous attacks of the lumpen hordes on the Tamils. There are many instances, where the Tamil victims who went to lodge complaints at the police stations were abused in vulgar tongue and chased out, and some times beaten up. The Karnataka police is infected with chauvinism and had actively participated in the genocidal violence on Tamils. When the Tamils of Lakkeri in the Basaveswaranagar dared to go en masse to the police station to lodge written complaints, they were abused in all vulgar odium. A policeman was reported to have shouted : "How dare you were to demand compensation from the Kannadigas' State ?" The person who thus behaved is police duffedar (BCP 432). He had later demanded Rs. 10 each from the Tamil victims. The victims pleaded to reduce it to Rs. 2 each, as they do not have that much to pay. The duffedar

then demanded at least Rs. 5 from each, and finally settled down to all the victims paying him Rs. 35.

The attack on Jaibheemnagar came from the police. An old man Ponnuchamy (60) suffered a bone fracture when the police pounced on him. Kumar (28), s/o Kannan, and his brother were badly assaulted by the police who broke open the door and ransacked the house. Kumar was still bed-ridden on Jan 5. The police, who raided the house of Mrs. Rajee (38) in the locality, took away her ear-rings by force.

When Mr. P. Dhanasekaran, who owned the Muthumari Stores at 3, Lakshminagar at the Kirloskar Colony, went to lodge a complaint with the Basaveswaranagar police station on his shop having been looted and ransacked on Dec 13, the police refused to accept his complaint. He had to flee the State on Dec 14. On his return to the city on Jan 10,1992, he again went to complain at the same police station. Instead of accepting his written complaint, the police itself wrote a complaint and forced him to sign on it. The police had recorded that the loss he suffered was Rs. 50,000, when the actual loss to his property was around Rs. 1 lakh.

More than one lakh Tamils had fled from Bangalore alone ; and most of them were mauled and looted, besides many cases of killings, and rape and molestation of women. But the city police had hitherto registered only 600 cases ! At Sanjaynagar alone more than 400 hutments were burnt and razed to ground. But the Rajagopalnagar police station, under which the area comes, had so far registered only 6 cases ! The break-up of the complaints registered by the other police stations in the city are : Basaveswaranagar 125, Kamakshipalayam 126, Vijayanagar 37, Byatrayanapura 26, Malleswaram 8, Rajajinagar 58, Mahalaxmi Layout 108, Peenya 30, Yeshwantapuram 1, Hebbal 3 and Sriramapuram 20. Vijayanagar police station is said to be holding out 120 complaints unregistered, including those of burning vehicles, shops and houses. Whereas they had promptly booked 126 cases at the Magadi Road police station, obviously on the Tamil victims at large (***Dinamani***, 22-1-1992).

This is the state of affairs in the State police.

The Commissioner of Police was rendered so ineffective that he pathetically expressed that while he had no problem with his officers at the DCPs and ACPs levels, the lower rungs of his forces were not obeying him! The Governor, Mr. Kurshid Alam Khan, was under the impression that Mr. R. Ramalingam, the Police Commissioner is a Tamil, and would therefore be concerned of safeguarding the Tamils. Whereas the Commissioner spurts out on his own to people around that he is a Telugu from Tamilnadu; and was evincing more concern rightly on the safety of the Kannadiga brethren in Tamilnadu rather than evincing an equal disposition towards the Tamils in the city.

Even the Fire Brigade of Karnataka had a share in such outrages ! Shops of a few Marwaris were also incidentally burnt at Sanjaynagar on Dec 14, 1991. Though a Marwari informed the Fire Brigade about his plastic granules factory burning, he could manage to get a fire engine only on the next day, that too after paying Rs. 10,000 in cash, plus Rs. 3,000 for the trip and a food allowance to the firemen ! An agarbathi factory set ablaze by the chauvinists was put down only after its Marwari owner paying the fire brigade a big sum. The fire brigade came to the spot after 36 long hours !

Hundreds of the Tamil boys were arrested by the chauvinist police, and they were reported to have been jailed at Hubli and Bellary. They were beaten up black and blue. Some of them could be retrieved only after paying the police Rs. 2,000 or 3,000 per head. Besides this, they were asked by the police to surrender their documents of ownership of their houses, we learnt A Tamil lorry owner who went to the police station to complain that his lorry was looted and burnt, was asked to pay Rs. 10,000 as bribe for the mere acceptance of his written complaint ! This is another facet of the State-organised violence on Tamils.

Those among the Tamils, who preferred to return to their areas, two or three days after their fleeing in the wake of looting and arson, were threatened of being burnt alive if they ever return.

All these acts again prove that the primary objective of the engineers of the genocidal violence is to drive out the Tamils from the State. The organisers are, in fact, planning to import Kannadigas to colonise the areas from where the Tamils were driven out and their dwellings leveled down.

Looting mainly gold ornaments, money and other valuables of the Tamils is another notable feature of the violence on Tamils. There are reported outrages of some policemen, drunken or otherwise, forcibly entering houses of Tamils, and looting them by force opening their cub-boards and boxes. Valuables like golden ornaments, etc , were looted. Shops owned by Tamils were ransacked, and articles like clothes, televisions, videos, etc, were all looted.

Heads of some Tamils were shaved off; and after having been garlanded with old chappals, they were made to sit on donkeys and taken on a procession, accompanied by beatings. Tamils thus humiliated were at last chased out of their areas. Some Tamils were attacked by broken soda bottles, some times right on the face. There are reported instances that Tamils were removed from their jobs by the non Tamils employers, who feared that they would be attacked by the chauvinists if they come to know that Tamils are employed in their workshops and establishments. Attacks on Tamils were launched even in the BTS buses, and on those who were waiting to board trains.

The police either looked the other way when Tamils were being assaulted or killed, looted and harassed. Whereas wherever the Tamils tried to organise themselves to protect their lives and properties from the chauvinist vandals, the police promptly swung into action to protect the chauvinist goons! This is a notable feature of the Karnataka police.

Wherever the police was called in to quell the riots in the Tamil-dominated areas which resisted the chauvinist attacks, the police, without any provocation, whatsoever, sought to arrest only the Tamil youth. They were very severely manhandled and tortured at the police stations. It is obvious that their subtle intention was to

prevent the Tamil youth from protecting the Tamil people, especially the children and the aged, from the marauding attacks of the chauvinist-police combine.

There were no party discriminations in the State-instigated anti-Tamil violence. Mr. K. Sundaramurthy, a Tamil Congress leader, was also on the streets, as his house was looted and ransacked.

Even those on the roads were not spared. On Dec 23, a bunch of chauvinists began stopping two-wheelers on the 100 feet Road of Indiranagar and demanded that they show them their RC books and identify whether they were Tamils. Mr. Krishnan of BEML was one such victim.

***The Invisibles***

There are certain hidden hands behind the violence on Tamils. A bird's eye-view will do to trace the subtle role played by the BJP and its mentor, the RSS. The burning down of more than 420 huts of Tamils at Sanjaynagar in the Peenya Industrial Estate is attributed to the BJP. The Minister of State for Kannada and Culture, Mr. S. Ramesh's statement that the "violence had been orchestrated from BJP strongholds such as Kamakshipalaya" (***Deccan Herald***, 17-12-1991) would also confirm this. BJP's role in the chauvinist violence is quite visible. It may be read as an effort to cover up his own guilt of having had been one among the organisers of the genocidal violence, for which he and his ministerial colleague Naseer Ahmed were summoned and rebuked by the Governor on a later occasion.

It is also no secret that the BJP is fanatically involved in its opposition to the unveiling of the statue of the great saint philosopher-poet Thiruvalluvar in Bangalore. On this front, the BJP is the leading force in staying, through a writ, the unveiling of the state. Its failure to win the Bangalore North c nstituency in the last Parliamant elections and its candidate's personal grouse that the Tamils, by and large, had refused to vote for BJP's communal politics may have provided the necessary impetus to their crusade

against the unveiling of Thiruvalluvar's statue. The anti-Tamil frenzy unleashed on the Tamils gave them a chance to settle score with the Tamils.

Writings like "Kannadigaru", "Jai Karnataka", "Kannada Matha ki Jai" appeared on the houses of Tamils, a day or two before the attacks on Tamils began. Slogans like "Jai Karnataka" and "Kannada Matha ki Jai" expose the RSS hand in the genocidal attacks.

The looting and ransacking of the Immanuel Gospel Prayer House at Saneguruvanahalli of Kamalanagar smacks of this hidden hand. The loss to the church property is estimated to be at Rs. 1,39,400. There are instances of the Christmas choral groups driven out by these forces. A mosque was attacked ; and a few Muslims were also the victims of the attacks of this latent force.

A mosque at Sriramapuram was attacked by the RSS in the guise of Kannada goons on Dec 13, and holy Koran was torn into pieces and thrown on the streets.

Dr. Murali Manohar Joshi, the BJP chief, who was on his 'Unity Pilgrimage', was in the city during the anti-Tamil riots. But he, who was preoccupied with the issue of refugees from the Kashmir valley, cared the least for voicing similar concern for the Tamil refugees of the city ! Venkatagiri Gowda, the BJP MP from the city, is yet to open his mouth to condemn the genocidal violence on the Tamils in Karnataka. His silence had to be read with his zealous involvement in opposing the unveiling of Thiruvalluvar statue in the city.

All these things identify the forces behind such outrages. Moreover, the RSS technique of spreading wild rumours telling that this or that locality is being attacked also betrays these forces. We fail to understand as to how their Hindu ideology could explain the using of the pictures of lord Murugan to identify the Tamil houses and why Murugan's pictures too were broken !

***Quirk***

There are a few (like the Police Commissioner Mr. R. Ramalingam) who argue that all these attacks on Tamils were an instant reaction to the installation of the Thiruvalluvar's statue by the Bangalore Tamil Sangam. Nothing could be so far from truth. The two decades-old hate-Tamil politics, which certain lumpen leaders among the Kannadigas had vigourously pursued had in fact led to their usurping of the political forums of all political parties and the State. As the present violence has little to do with the Cauvery waters dispute or the Tribunal's interim order, the Thiruvalluvar statue is a non issue at present, particularly when there are umpteen number of statues of other non-Kannadigas (some of them very prominently before the Vidhana Soudha) in the city. On the contrary, the recent riots are in fact the logical end of the hate-Tamil politics, which had its roots and shoots growing over years.

How could the theory that Thiruvalluvar's statue provoked anti-Tamil violence explain the widespread and premeditated violence on the Tamils in the Mysore and other border districts ?

***Violence Spreads to Other Districts***

On the pretext of opposing the exodus of a few Kannadigas from Tamilnadu, violence of unprecedented scale had been let loose on the Tamils in Gundlupet, Nanjangud, Chamarajanagar, T. Narasipura taluqs of the Mysore district. In the Mysore district alone Tamils in 348 villages were affected by the anti-Tamil violence, says the Mysore district Collector on Jan 10, 1992. Muniyamma, wife of Chinnathambi, fled with her three-day old baby. Many Tamils had been burnt alive in these places when the riots renewed from December 23, 1991. Story of looting and arson on hundreds of shops and houses and on thousands of huts belonging to Tamils repeats. Under the very farce of curfew, all these outrages had been committed.

At the Theraganappu area of Narasingapur in Mysore, 200 huts of Tamils were burnt. At Yelandur 400 houses of Tamils were torched.

It has been reported that certain Kannada papers, like ***Aandolana,*** carried advertisements calling upon the Tamils in Karnataka to flee the State before Dec 24.

The added feature was that even farm houses of Tamils and their crops in the border villages were targets of attack. The fields of Tamils growing sugar-cane, etc , as also their livestock, had been burnt. Kurubara Hundi, Mariyala, Udigala Tammadahalli, Hasanuru, Thandavapura, Ullapuram, Bommallapuram, Pullipuram, Appapuram, Nallur, Hosakurubageri, Anchevadi, Paduvarahalli, Hanur, Haradanahalli, Y. K. Moole, Hebsur, Modahalli, Terakanambi, Hommarahalli in HD Kote, Jayanapura, Kodahalli, Amsadwadi Mangala, Chinnapuram, Suguna Pannai, Boodititttu, Atlukugipura, Sargurumoole, Uttavali in Chamarajanagar, Udigala, Malavare, Katterpura, Channammarayapura, Mallayyanapura, Ayanpuram, Bommanahalli, Malur, Hasavala, Saragur, Mumbalapuram, Udaiyar-halli, Swarnapathy Dam, Basapura, Chikkodi, Siddayyanpuram, Nanjakarai, Arasanallur, Kollegal, Sattegala, Hanur, Ramapur. Doddaballapur, etc., were the other rural pockets where immense damages to the Tamils' lives and properties had been caused.

Tamils had fled all the border villages like Besarahalli, Kaudikere, Odiyapuram, SI Kotahalli, Arakodalli in the Mandya district. Many Tamils had been stabbed here

An arm of the three-year-old daughter of Madhamma (24), Uma, was burnt in the arson committed by the chauvinists (***Frontline***, 31-1-1992).

Many Tamils were killed and their bodies were thrown into the burning fields. The grown up daughter of Raju (56), who later fled to Annur near Coimbatore, was butchered right before her father. A Congress (I) MLA presented a list of the Tamils killed in the Mysore and Mandya districts to Mr. G.S. Sandhu, the Joint Secretary to the Department of Rehabilitation of the Government of India, when he visited the Annur Tamil refugee camp (***Frontline***, 31-1-1992).

Scores of lorries and other vehicles with Tamilnadu registration are reported to have been abandoned to be looted by the chauvinist hordes at Nanjangud and other places. On the way to Nanjangud, and 22 Kms from Mysore, 11 lorries of Tamilnadu registration were totally burnt. In one case the very number plate was not there. The numbers of the other trucks were TCG 8550, TDF 2339, TNM 4300, TVJ 1125, TN 33Z 3389, TN 33Z 3496, TN 47Z 3699, TNR 7619, TN 33Z 5788 and TNS 6288.

A lorry carrying coffee seeds worth Rs. 5.5 lakhs was burnt at Nanjangud.

The curfew, as was the case with Bangalore, was totally farce. The team of observers who visited Nanjangud on the New Year's Day, could see people freely on the move and most of the commercial establishments open, though they were under curfew.

Sri Nanjundeswari Saw Mills, owned by Thangavelu Mudaliar at Nanjangud was totally burnt. The loss of materials alone would be at Rs. 2.5 lakhs.

The Bannariamman Sugar Factory of Pollachi Mahalingam bore the brunt of the chauvinist attack on Dec 24, 1991 The factory at Thagadur, which was still under construction, had its installation of plant and machinery fully completed, and 85 per cent of the civil works over. The project estimation was Rs. 36 crores, and the factory was scheduled to be commissioned in June 1992. The factory which was to provide direct employment for 1,000 and indirect job opportunities for 15,000, was looted, ransacked and burnt completely. The factory was to have a capacity to crush 6,000 lakh tonnes of sugar-cane. It would have been the largest such factory in India, with all modern equipments. It had suffered a loss of Rs. 18 to 20 crores. Whereas the Home Minister Dharam Singh tells that the loss to the factory was just 6 crores ! The factory covered an area of 350 acres of land, and 900 (500 Tamils, 200 Malayalees, and rest locals) were working on contract basis Concrete houses with asbestos roofs numbering 250 were built for these workers. They were all completely burnt. The factory had already paid an advance for 2,500 tonnes of sugar-cane. Ten diesel

generators of 40 HP were carried away by the vandals. Out of them only 6 had been retraced. Paints worth Rs. 35 lakhs were set on fire, and they were still burning on the New Year's Day. A cash of Rs. 5.5 lakhs was stolen.

Tamil lorry drivers and cleaners were beaten up after they were tied to trees near Gundlupet At Gundlupet, Kajanana Cinema Talkies, owned by Ganesan, was attacked and set ablaze. As the proprietor was warned in the morning that his talkies is going to be attacked, he could manage to shift the projector alone to a safer place. But the loss to other properties was at Rs. 1.5 lakhs.

Angammal of Udayampura, which is 10 Kms from Nanjangud, tells that many Tamil women were raped. Many Tamil women garden workers at Kullapuram, Embergulla, etc., were reported to have been raped. Around 1,000 shops and establishments owned by Tamils were looted and burnt at Nanjangud. Heads of many Tamils were shaved off and they were tortured in and around the town. There is a Tamil Sangam there. It is at the aegis of one Mr Venkatasubbaiah, who owns a match factory on the Ullali Road of Basavangudi block at Nanjangud He had betrayed the Tamils' interests and joined the Kannada chauvinists. He did not even show up to console the victims of the anti-Tamil violence.

At Chamarajanagar, 4,000 acres of sugar cane and rice crops were burnt by pouring petrol. There are many rape victims among the Tamil women, and many others were molested. The Muslims of the town had given shelter to the Tamils in their mosque.

Even the newspapers which underplay the spates of violence on the Tamils reported that an old women aged 90 was charred to death at Chamarajanagar.

Pumpsets of Tamils were stolen at Chamarajanagar.

Anti-Tamil riots began spreading from village to village. Riots engulfed Samnahalli, Chandrikoplu, Hanahallikere, Haliyur, Dinnagiri Totti of the Maddur taluq of Mandya district Tamil workers who toiled in the sugar-cane fields and other farms were

forced to flee with their meagre bag and baggage. Noses and ears of 8 Tamils at Kerakodahalli in Mandya district were chopped off (***Dinakaran*** 27-12-1991).

Many Tamils were missing, and are feared to have been killed. Thirty of them were from Poraiyur of Kolnaikkanpatti of the Mettur taluq in the Salem district, lists Maadhayyan, S/o Chinnappa Gownder, in his complaint to the Chief Minister of Tamilnadu. They were all employed to cut sugar-cane for the Chowdeswari Sugar Factory at Thottiyam on the Alukkur Road in the Mandya district.

Thirty villages bordering Talavadi were torched by the Kannada chauvinists. They penetrated deep into Tamilnadu in this area and had attacked the Dasanur police station inside Tamilnadu, and wounded two policemen there.

On the borders near Thalavadi, 3,000 hectares of sugar-cane fields belonging to Tamils were reported to have been consigned to flames, which the Tamilnadu officials could easily see from the other side of the border. The loss to the properties of Tamils in the area could run into crores of rupees in value. Violence was rampant in HD Kote, Hunsur and Dehalli areas. Country and petrol bombs had been widely used. The attackers were transported to many places by the very police trucks, reports ***Dinamani*** (26-12-1991). Thousands of Tamils of these areas too had fled to become refugees in Tamilnadu. Some of them had to walk through the Mudumalai sanctuary covering many miles.

There is an agonising story of Tamils from Kollegal walking through forests on the banks of Cauvery and reaching Biligundu, which is 10 Kms from Hogenakkal, and then crossing the river at Marukkarai by ***parisals*** (boats). Many Tamil hamlets around Kollegal were attacked simultaneously. Houses were looted and torched. Tamil women were raped and molested at Siluvaipuram, Sathyakala, ER Puram, and other villages. The wife of Michael, a Tamil farmer. was raped right before him, and was later carried away. The whereabouts of his wife and child are not known. The wife of Kuzhandaisamy of Jakeri was one such raped Tamil

woman. A Tamil woman was cut into pieces and thrown into fire. A sixteen-year Tamil girl was molested and her head was shaved off. The suger-cane fields were torched. The Tamil farmers from Siluvaipuram and the surroundings therefore decided to begin their exodus to Tamilnadu. As they could not find a shorter route to Hosur in Tamilnadu, they preferred to reach the banks of Cauvery and set foot along the jungles along it. Between 2,000 to 3,000 Tamils therefore set foot on Dec 24, 1991. Out of them, a batch of 780 belonging to 159 families reached Sesurajapuram in Hosur district on Dec 30, 1991, after 6 days of walking. They were not able to carry three old women, and therefore those three were immersed into the river. An old man who could not walk pleaded with them to leave him behind with a vessel of water. He was thus abandoned. The wife of Kuzhandaisamy, who could not bear all these ordeals, died on reaching Sesurajapuram, leaving three of her children motherless. Two of the Tamil women who were raped were such wrecks that they despised the very sight of others. A refugee Tamil in the camp opined that the act of driving out Tamils from an entire district of Mysore within 10 a m. in the morning and 3 p m in the afternoon could not have been possible without a prior planning.

Another batch of 750 Tamils belonging to 161 families from Kollegal were reported to have reached Natrampalayam after crossing 220 miles by walk along river Cauvery. They were lodged as refugees in a Christian church at Anjatti in the Thenkanikottai taluq.

Be it Kollegal or Nanjangud or Chamarajanagar, the Tamils' lament is the same. They had worked 15 long years to transform the jungle tracts into arable lands growing rice and sugar-cane. Every two out of an average family of seven had died in pestilential fever in the process of their converting inarable lands into fertile fields. These Tamils could reap the fruits of their decade and half-old labour only during the last two years. But the envious Kannadigas venture to raise claims on these lands after they see that they had been turned into virgins lands. This view was endorsed by a Kannadiga dalit leader Mr. K. C. Ranganath of Chamarajanagar.

Thousands of farm workers of Chamarajanagar taluq, who were rendered homeless due to looting and arson, were reported to have pleaded with the Karnataka Government officials with folded hands and tears that they be safely conducted to Tamilnadu in order to save their crying children from hunger. All Tamils from 30 villages of Gundlupet had fled to Tamilnadu Tamils in Mysore had been given 3 days time to quit, it was said.

Tamil families on board the Mysore-Bangalore Passenger train were attacked at a place between Pandavapura and Mandya on Dec 27. All the belongings of 150 Tamil travellers were looted and set on fire.

Karthigeyan (20), who was residing at Jagadevinagar in Mysore, had to flee the place, as the chauvinists stopped water and milk supply to Tamils in their area. When he and his room-mates requested their house owner to pay back the advance money they paid for their room, the house-owner manhandled and drove them out. They could somehow board the Mysore-Bangalore Passenger. But the Kannada chauvinists, who stopped their train at Bedarahalli, assaulted them. These youngmen were forced to get down from train Fifty of the Tamil women on the train were molested by a mob of 200 which stopped the train at Mandya. Eight of them had to walk back 25 Kms to reach Mysore. They boarded a KSRTC bus to Bangalore and then reached Attippalli. From there, they walked to reach Hosur. Almost similar are the stories of other Tamils who fled Karnataka.

There are reports that goats and sheep belonging to Tamils and numbering 2 lakhs were forcibly taken away by the chauvinist hordes at Gundlupet (***Dinamani***, 28-12-1991).

A Tamil girl was raped right in front of her father, after he was was tied up, at Kempapura in Gundlupet. Santhamma, another Tamil women, was stripped, burnt with cigarette fire and driven out of the State.

A Tamil family fleeing from Gundlupet was reported to have been intercepted on the border in the Mysore district, and

a young girl in the car was pulled out and raped. Her breasts were later chopped off (***Dinamani***, 27-12-1991). Lorry cleaner Arachalur Narayanan and 50 others were helpless witnesses to this heinous crime of the chauvinists.

Raping Tamil women had taken place at Mandya too, reports Andal (30) of Meyyur village near Thiruvannamalai, who hed fled the area.

Chandra, a Tamil woman whose husband owned a workshop at the Chikkalar Dam on the border, gave birth to a baby while she was fleeing to Tamilnadu with her husband by a moped, after having had lost property worth Rs. 10 lakhs.

A Tamil family could not even perform the last rites of an old man of his family, who died on Dec 25, as the family had to flee from the State.

Many women from Mandya had their heads shaved off by the chauvinists, and the Tahsildar of Hosur had furnished photographs of such women victims.

Three lorry loads of valuable Tamil books were removed from the Mysore University and set on fire by the chauvinists. This incident, told by a Muslim Assistant Education Officer who was an eye-witness to this heinous act, reminds us of the Sinhala chauvinists' burning the Jaffna Tamil Library in the early eighties.

As the chauvinist vandals and their counterparts in the police did not allow the fleeing Tamils to board KSRTC buses to reach Tamilnadu border, more than 5,000 Tamils were reported to have fled to Kerala, from where they reached Gudalur in Tamilnadu. They carried small tin boxes and plastic bags containing the minimum essentials. As on this date, more than 30,000 Tamils had reached Coimbatore and Periyar districts of Tamilnadu, report PTI and UNI on Dec 29. Of them, more than 20,000 Tamils were said to have crossed over on Dec 27 alone !

As usual, Mr. Bangarappa was playing his Nero's fiddle with a senseless statement on December 26, 1991, telling that "the

linguistic minorities are safe and are being looked after well in Karnataka" (***Deccan Herald*** 26-12 1991). The euphemism in his words may have to be seen in relation to the implied meaning and message.

There were 9,000 Tamils at a refugee relief camp at Girija Kalyana Mandapam on Dec 27.

Even a prominent Tamil Congress leadar, Mr. Mahalingam, a native of Nanjangud for the last 50 years, was not spared by the chauvinists. He had to flee to Tamilnadu as his shop was looted.

He alleges that Madhe Gowda, the local MLA, was actively involved in the anti-Tamil riots. Mr. Madhe Gowda who came to the refugee camp at Girija Kalyana Mandapam had abused the Tamil women, in all vulgar terms, right in the presence of the Collector of Mysore.

The Collector of the Coimbatore district of Tamilnadu Came with 37 buses and took away most of them. Just 400 Tamils remained there. On the contrary, the total Kannadigas who had fled Tamilnadu were just 648 belonging to 242 families, as reported by Mr. Suraksharaswamy, Tahsildar of Gundlupet. Out of them, just 194 remain after the Collector of Nilgiris, Ms. Leena Nair, came with 4 buses and took them back to Tamilnadu. Most of the Kannadigas from Tamilnadu had fled Tamilnadu for the sheer fear arising out of a handbill issued in support of the Tamils in Karnataka The Karnataka Government restrains these 194 Kannadigas from returning, just to show that they too have refugees, it was said.

There are reports that the Tamils in the refugee camps organised by the Karnataka Government were not provided regular food. K. M. Doddi camp at Mandya was one such camp. Only a few Tamils were given a saree and a ***ve'tti*** (dhoti) each by the Karnataka Government, obviously for video filming and propaganda.

Chief Minister Jayalalitha herself had stated through a press release on Jan 4, 1992 that 1,350 Tamils, who were workers of the

Chamundeswari Sugar Mills, were kept confined for 10 days within the confines of the factory. They were sent to Talavadi in Tamilnadu by eight Karnataka State buses by the State authorities themselves on Jan 3. Vatal Nagaraj and a Member of Parliament from Mandya had gone to the factory with 100 goons to threaten the Tamils to flee to Tamilnadu immediately. They got these Tamils to sign on prepared letters telling that they were leaving to Tamilnadu to celebrate Pongal, and than made them to board the buses.

***Aftermath***

Scattered violence on Tamils on the fringe areas of the Bangalore city continues even after two weeks of the violent orgy of Dec 13, 1991, in spite of the farce claim of restoring peace in the city by the police. Wild rumours were being spread to scare away and cause the fleeing of the Tamil slum-dwellers in particular. Whereas in some other places, scattered violence, as usual with the active collaboration of the police, continued. Out of the 150 huts behind the Widia Factory at Dasarahalli of Peenya, on the Tumkur Road, hordes of the chauvinists drove out 30 Tamil families on Dec 27. Chauvinists who descended on Chikkabidirakkal at the 9th mile of the Tumkur Road drove out 20 Tamil families from the locality on the same day. Again on the same day, 15 Tamil families were chased out of Dinne, closer to it, and that too at 3.15 a m.

A Tamil settlement on the 13th Cross of the 6th Main near the Venkateswara temple at Malleswaram was attacked on Dec 24, 1991. Fourteen Tamil houses were looted, ransacked and burnt. Panchali, wife of Kasi, suffered burn injuries. Daughters of Subramani — Laxmi, Jayanti, Bhagya and Santhi — were badly mauled and thrown into the burning fire, and therefore suffered burn injuries. Ramalingam and his wife Pappathi suffered stab Injuries. Many of the Tamil woman in the area lost their ear-rings, nose-rings and other jewels during the attack.

Tamils were looted and chased out at Bhavaninagar slum. Attacks on Tamils occurred at Banashankari, Konenegunta Cross, Thalakkattupuram, Vasanthapuram, Uttarahalli, etc. Stray incidents of violence continued near the Tin Factory, A. Narayanapuram,

B. Narayanapuram, etc., near Krishnarajapuram Tamil women's thalis were reported to have been pulled out and they were molested. Seventy eight Tamil families of B. Narayanapuram were given an ultimatum on Dec 28 that they should flee from the area forthwith.

Posters warning that the Tamils should leave the area if they are to save their lives had appeared prominently at places like Yelahanka bus stand, Subramanyapuram, Kanakapura Road, Doddaballapur, Chikkaballapur etc.

At Yelahanka the chauvinists announced over mike fitted to an autorickshaw that the Tamils in the area should quit Karnataka immediately.

Peenya police was on an all out hunt to arrest some 20 boys of Siddharthanagar of Jalahalli West for their sole sin of trying to resist the chauvinist hordes. They forced entry into the houses of the Tamils and harassed them on Dec 29. Certain chauvinists had caught hold of a Kannadiga youth named Ramachandra of Doddannanagar of Devarjeevanahalli police limits and took around the unwilling youth on Dec 29 by a green Ambassador car MEA 4493 to get the Tamil houses identified.

Tamils of Lakshmanraonagar in Koramangala, who live in 1,500 huts apprehended trouble from the Kannada chauvinists celebrating the Kannada State Festival. When they went to the Lakkasandra police station near Adugodi, the Inspector of Ashoknagar circle, Mr Poonacha, had refused to heed to their plea by telling that they should save themselves. There was tension at Chikkadodda near Mavalli, Upparahalli, Kalasipalayam and Minerva circle on Dec 29.

On Jan 2, 1992, five Tamils were attacked at the workspots within the New Government Electric Factory (NGEF) owned by the Government of Karnataka, and no action had been taken on those who attacked. A newspaper vendor, who was selling even Tamil newspapers and magazines before the factory, was beaten up and driven out. The chauvinists announced with threats that the Tamil workers numbering 900 should join a road blocking agitation to

support Karnataka's stand on Cauvery water dispute by punching and coming out of the factory. Tamils who thus came out after punching later knew that the chauvinists had played foul, and were driven back into the factory by the police.

A manager of an industry at Rajajinagar, Mr. Thirumurthy (25), resigned his job and left to Tamilnadu. Cases of this type are on the rise.

The flow of refugee Tamils from Bangalore to Attippalli on the Karnataka-Tamilnadu border by walk was on the growing side. Some of them walked with their cattle. The violence that began in the cities and towns did spread to villages and factories.

Hav. N. Rajasekaran (Army No. 1366224) of the Madras Engineering Group at Bangalore had to return to Bangalore on the night of Jan 3, 1992. He was carrying with him Rs. 40,000 in cash, and accompanied by his brother-in-law, Mr. Vesudevan, who too had Rs. 20,000 with him. As the bus services between Tamilnadu and Karnataka stood suspended for more than a month since Dec 12, 1991, they had to get down at the Hosur bus stand and reach the Tamilnadu Karnataka border by a van. Near the border arch on the side of Karnataka, two matador vans were standing and were calling passengers to Bangalore to board them. These two Tamils boarded a van, while the other van without a number followed it. On reaching the Attippalli check-post, they were attacked by the persons in the vans, who surrounded them with lethal weapons. They lost not only the money they were carrying, but also their watches, gold chains, gold rings, clothes, etc. The Karnataka police at Attippalli refused to book a complaint and directed them to cross the border into Tamilnadu and lodge a complaint. There were many such reported cases of chauvinist dacoity on the Tamil passengers at Attippalli, and the Karnataka police had failed to protect the Tamil passengers crossing the borders.

Two tempos arranged by the Bangalore Tamil Sangam were attacked by the Kannada chauvinists before the Sampige Cinema Talkies at Malleswaram on Jan 5, when they were returning after

distributing relief to the Tamil victims of Sanjaynagar. A lady volunteer of Samata Sainik Dal, Ms Lakshmi, who was in one of the tempos, was wounded badly on her face

As a sequel to this incident, the eldest son of Mr. C. Mohan, M. Suresh Babu, who was working for a courier service at Gandhinagar, was brutally murdered by the chauvinists on Dec 5 at the KCG Hospital at Malleswaram where his mother works as a nursing superintendent. Whereas the police, obviously hand in glove with the killers, had concocted a story that Suresh Babu died out of stumbling on the ground ! The police detained the second son of Mr. Mohanraj to force him to obtain a statement that his brother's death was due to such stumbling. The family was also being coerced to make such a statement. Even the ACP and Circle Inspector were stated to have told the parents of the deceased : "You Tamils should be kicked out of Karnataka !".

P. Shanmugam's family at Bhoodigiri in the Heggadedevanekote had been there for the third generation, and owned sugar-cane fields. Three of the Kannada chauvinists approached their settlement on Jan 9, 1992 and cried menacingly that all Tamils of the village should flee from Karnataka at once. The marauders came to their place again after the dusk and attacked Shanmugam's leder brother Nagarathnam (42) by choppers. He sustained serious injuries. Shanmugam's 7 year old daughter suffered a deep chopper cut on her head. His wife Revati and a few other Tamil women neighbours were stripped and made to run for cover. Their houses were looted. One ear of Mrs. Kamalamma, his neighbour, was chopped off, and her husband and son were missing. Shanmugam and other affected Tamils rushed to Heggadedevanakote police station 25 Kms away. The police officials there had chased them out shouting : "How dare you are to be still in Karnataka ! If you stay any long, you will be kicked. Run away you ***Kongaatti*** to Tamilnadu !". On failing to get justice from the police, the Tamils of the village boarded a train to Bangalore. Nagarathnam died on reaching Bangalore Railway Station. Shanmugam's daughter's condition was precarious. He could somehow arrange to take the dead and the family to his native town Ambur in the North Arcot district of Tamilnadu.

A poor Tamil who wanted to buy rice at Byra Sandra uttered ***Arisi*** (rice) in Tamil. A chauvinist who heard him uttering a Tamil word got enraged and physically assaulted him on Jan 10.

A few of the huts of Tamils at Kadirenahalli beyond Banashankari were looted and razed on Jan 9 after the dusk. Around 2,000 Tamils had fled Moodarapalaya behind Jnana Bharati (the Bangalore University). Fifty Tamil families, which remain there, are being subjected to untold harassment, in particular the ladies. Operating from a provision store, the chauvinists have been causing such miseries to Tamils. Most of the Tamil women had changed their thalis to black beads to hide their Tamil identity and look like Kannadiga women.

The chauvinists again entered the Tamil houses at Kamakshipalayam on Jan 5, and forcibly took away the ownership titles from the house owners. Similar incidents were reported from Kurubarahalli of the JC Nagar on the same day.

Kannada chauvinists have been threatening that the water main that supplies Cauvery water to the Bangalore city would be blown off one day or other. As a prelude to such a desperate threat, the water main on the Bore Bank Road was blown off by the chauvinists, resulting in the Tamil-dominated areas like Fraser Town, Cooke Town, Lingarajapuram, Sevanagar, Banasawadi, etc., going without water for a few days. A photo of the blown up water main appeared in ***Deccan Herald*** on Jan 14, 1992.

What strikes us is that no Kannadiga chauvinist who engineered the genocidal attacks on the Tamils has been arrested so far. Mr. Vatal Nagaraj was just restrained from abetting on the spot at Chamarajanagar. No case has been booked on the marauders. No action has been taken on any police official either for dereliction of duty or the act of connivance and participation in the chauvinistic attacks on Tamils. Whereas we hear stories that criminals from the Bellary and other jails were let out to participate in the anti-Tamil carnage. But hundreds of Tamil youth were rounded up, beaten, tortured and detained, thus making them to fill their jails. All these

reflect the extent of the State Government's involvement in the anti-Tamil festivities of violence.

The farce of relief offered to the Tamil victims of the riots are, of course, meant to mislead the world at large. When the actual loss to Tamils in the riots in Bangalore alone would be around Rs. 200 crores, the State Government's assessment of the loss to the property is at Rs 2 to 3 crores ! A Tamil who had lost his property worth Rs. 1.5 lakhs was given a meagre Rs. 1,500. On his pleading that it is too small, the authorities who were distributing such relief, that too, to a selected few told him to quietly accept it and go to Tamilnadu.

When the Kannada chauvinists heard that at the Bethel Church at the Banasawadi Ex-Servicemen Colony some Tamils songs were being played on Jan 12, 1992, they caused ugly disturbances outraging the freedom of religious practice of the Tamil Christians.

Five Tamil construction workers were found mysteriously locked inside a shed in Ramamurthynagar at Banasawadi on Jan 19, 1992, and three out of them were found dead and the remaining two were rescued in an unconscious state. The police say that they died either out of suffocation or food poisoning, whereas the people around opined that it was the handiwork of the Kannada chauvinists who are quite active in that environ.

When Nataraja Talkies at Seshadripuram resumed showing a Tamil movie on Jan 19 1992, Rajkumar fans who had come to see a Rajkumar's movie at the Central Talkies opposite to it marched on to the Nataraja Talkies and attacked the Tamils in the cinema hall. The cinema screen was set on fire. Many Tamil women were manhandled. Tension spread to Sriramapuram and other localities.

## *WHAT THE TAMIL SANGAM DID ?*

Seeing the alarming magnitude of the violence unleashed on the Tamils in Bangalore, the Bangalore Tamil Sangam could readily realise that it has to shoulder the new and unprecedented task of not only voicing concern for the Tamils, but also to bring pressure on the citadels of power in the State, besides organising succour

and relief to the Tamils who had turned into refugees overnight. It could do little as far as the helpless Tamils who had fled the State. The reports poured in showed that the State police was not only hand in glove with the chauvinist goons, but also actively participated in the genocidal attacks on Tamils in many places. This had forced the Sangam to take the position that the Tamils in the State may not be protected by the State police, and so it called upon the Centre to actively intervene by sending its paramilitary or Army to protect the Tamils from the genocidal violence.

Besides sending wires to the Prime Minister and the Home Minister of the Government of India, the Sangam had sent two memoranda to the Governor of Karnataka, and one each to the Prime Minister and President of India. The Sangam office-bearers met the Governor, Mr. Kurshid Alam Khan, on Dec 17, 1991 and apprised him of the situation in the city. The situation elsewhere in the State was not known at that time. We reiterated that

1) the Central security forces or the Army should be deployed to save the lives, properties and self-respect of Tamils in Karnataka :

2) a judicial enquiry on the riots be instituted ; and

3) a fact finding committee of the Members of the Parliament be constituted.

All these things were a reiteration of our earlier representation to the Governor dated Dec 15, 1991.

The Sangam office-bearers visited the riot-torn areas of the city and appraised the extent of damages done to the Tamils and their properties. The gory sight and evidences gathered had led us to realise that our earlier hesitation to pitch the extent of damages to the properties of Tamils at Rs 100 crores is too small a figure ; and that the actual loss in the city alone would touch Rs 200 crores.

The agony of trickling reports of rape and molestation of Tamil women is so thick and unbearable that words fail to convey

the extent of the unpardonable brutalities on the Tamil womanhood. The well-suppressed news that tens of Tamils butchered by the chauvinist marauders is another gory account. Documenting these incidents would take time, as many of the witnesses to such heinous massacres had fled the State.

Then comes the Tamil Sangam's effort to organise relief to the refugee Tamils in the city. Though it began at snail's pace, we were enamoured by the response to our call to donate clothes, food grains and money for the Tamil victims.

Donations started coming from Tamilnadu also. Cine star Vijayakant was the first to donate Rs. 1 lakh. President Thiru. K. Subramaniyan and Thiru. P. Shanmugasundaram proceeded to Madras to collect Rs. 2 lakhs donated by actor Sathyaraj, and to apprise the leaders in Tamilnadu. Mr. Satyaraj's wife denoted two of her gold bangles, which were her parental presents.

More than all these relief helps, the Tamils in Karnataka feel assured of the support and solidarity of the people of Tamilnadu for the first time, though they had not heeded to their telling them in the past that the Tamils in Karnataka were being discriminated and oppressed at the instance of the growing and menacing hate-Tamil chauvinist politics of Karnataka. The spread of the anti-Tamil violence to the other districts of Mysore, Mandya and Kolar, and the exodus of Tamils from these districts too, had roused the Tamil national consciousness among the Tamils of Tamilnadu. The statements made by the Chief Minister of Tamilnadu, Dr. Jayalalitha, and the huge DMK procession led by Kalignar Karunanidhi had soothing effects on the minds of Karnataka Tamils.

The heroic resistance which the Tamils in Sriramapuram, Magadi Road, etc., had put up to stall the marauding goons attacks and the police patronage to them should be a lesson of value for the Tamils elsewhere in the city. The price they had paid through blood and martyrdom would definitely forge the sense of unity which the Tamils generally lack. When once the unity of Tamils is anvilled on

the genuine aspiration for equality, self-respect and a peaceful living, we may brave any challenges that may crop up.

We are aware of the fall outs over the December' 91 violence in Tamilnadu. We do not wish this ethnic friction to grow. Any impartial observer of the events of the December violence may really appreciate the composure of the Tamils in Karnataka who did not get provoked in the Civil Area of Bangalore and elsewhere. We know the outcome of the perils of confrontation, if it continues. We want to live in peace ; and we are not the ones who would ever disturb the peace. It is unfair on the part of the forces behind the riots to have made the Tamils in Katnataka as the target and unleashed on them violence of an unprecedented scale.

If driving the Tamils out of Karnataka was the sole objective of the State-organised violence on Tamils, we have to drive in a point. The Tamils in Bangalore and Kolar districts are not alien migrants, as is being made out by the Kannada chauvinists. They are not like the Tamils elsewhere, who had either recently settled or those who were brought in as indentured labour during the British days to work in the coffee and tea estates of Chickmagalur and Coorg, or the iron industry at Bhadravati In fact, Tamils of Bangalore and Kolar districts are the original inhabitants, and these areas were gradually colonised by others. The Hoysala country was divided among brothers in 1254. The Hoysala King Ramanatha inherited this region, and his inscriptions were mostly in Tamil.

The fact that most of the inscriptions found at Agaram, Aigandapura, Avadhi, Baichapura, Bannerghatta, Begur, Binnamangala, Domlur, Gangavaram, Ulsoor, Hasigala, Heggunda, Hosakote, Kondarahalli, Kudalur, Magadi; Mankunta, Manne, Nandagudi, Vagatta, Vanakanahalli, Varanayakkanahalli and other places in and around Bangalore are mostly in Tamil. The present names of many places in the area are corruptions of the original Tamil names We cite a few such names as given in the ***Mysore Gazetteer***, Volume V (1930), edited by C. Hayavadana Rao.

| Present Name | Original Name |
|---|---|
| Agaram | Agaram |
| Ibbalur | Iruvuliyur |
| Aigundapura | Aivar kanda puram |
| Avadhi | Aagudhi |
| Binnamangala | Vinnamangalam |
| Domlur | Thumbalur |
| Yelahanka | Ilaippaakkanaadu |
| Kankanahalli | Kaanikkaaranpalli |
| Kudalur | Koodalur (Rajaraja Chaturvedimangalam) |
| Mankunta | Manalur (Nigarili Chozhamandalam) |
| Manne | Mannainaadu |
| Nandagudi | Nondhakuzhi |
| Vagatta | O'Vattam (Varadaraja Chaturvedimangalam) |
| Vanakkanahalli | Vannakkaarappattanam |

Bangalore district was known as Vikrama Chozhamandalam. There are still Cholanayakkanahalli and Choladevanahalli in the Bangalore district. Magadi town itself was founded by the Cholas in 1139. The tank on Palar at Bethamangalam (Vijayaditya mangalam) was built by Vijayaditya Chozhan.

Most of the temples, like the ones at Domlur, Begur, Ulsoor, were all built by the Cholas and the Tamil Gangas. Kempe Gowda who founded the city of Bangalore in 1537 was a Thigila, who belonged to the Tamil Vanniyar caste. He hailed from Kanchipuram in Tamilnadu. In fact, these Thigilar were the oldest and original inhabitants of Bangalore. Thigilar numbered 31,644 out of the total population of 3,07,124 in Bangalore in 1931. Out of the population of Bangalore Civil and Military Station and Bangalore City, which was at 1,89,485 in 1911, Tamils were 61,172, Kannadigas 33,612 and Telugus 47,423.

These references are made only to make people to understand as to how these historical facts are being overlooked in building up an anti-Tamil psyche.

Not withstanding these historical facts, the Tamils in Karnataka do aspire for a peaceful environ where they are not discriminated and oppressed for being an ethnic minority, and are allowed to contribute further for the prosperity and well-being of the State. But for the labour and striving of the Tamils, Bangalore city would not have become a modern city of today's standing. The tall buildings and humming of its industries and markets were all the sprouts borne by a steady stream of Tamils' blood. By cultivating ethnic strife and hatred against the Tamils, what good is going to come for the well being and future of the State ?

Many myths have been broken by the December '91 genocidal violence on Tamils in Karnataka. The class myth, the Indian myth, the Hindu myth and the Dravidian myth have all begun evaporating in the minds of the Tamils. When we learn that at places like Siluvaipuram, etc., it was the dalits, Adi-Karnatakas, who perpetrated the chauvinist genocide on Tamils, even the myth of a caste-based dalit unity has gone the same way.

" வருமுன்னர்க் காவாதான் வாழ்க்கை எரிமுன்னர்
வைத்தூறு போலக் கெடும் "

*(குறள். 435)*

"His joy who guards not-gainst the coming evil day,
Like straw before the fire shall swift consume away".

***(Thirukkural, 435)***

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# Annexure

***The text of the letter dated Dec 15, 1991 addressed to the Prime Minister and the Governor of Karnataka :***

"The Bangalore Tamil Sangam wishes to bring the following few heart-rendering incidents to the kind attention of His Excellency. In the unprecedented violent incidents in the city followed by gazetting of Cauvery Tribunal's interim order, Tamilians in the city are being subjected to miseries which could not be retold. Bangalore Tamil Sangam has been receiving innumerable complaints explaining the ordeals experienced by the minority Tamils. The sufferers have undergone all sorts of inhuman atrocious acts unleased by Kannada-protagonists. They reveal the acts of arson, looting, molestation, raping, stripping, stabbing, etc. The vehicles with Tamilnadu registration numbers, though owned by Bangaloreans, are being burnt. The goondas have gone to the extent of even snatching of mangala-sutras and tying fresh ones. These incidents continue to occur in Bangalore in a wide-spread manner, particularly in the areas such as Swathandranagar, Gowthamanagar, Nagappa block, Sri-ramapuram, Kurubarahalli, Kamakshipalayam, Rajajinagar, Maha-lakhiminagar, Basaveshvaranagar, Ashokapuram, Krishnanagar, Sanjay Gandhinagar, Chamundinagar, Kamalanagar, Mariappana-palaya, Dhayanandanagar, Magadi Road and other areas.

"We are pained to point out that most of these shameful acts are taking place under the very nose of the police force. Hence, we request His Excellency to use his good offices to arrange for CENTRAL POLICE or MILITARY if needed to safeguard the life, property and self-respect of Tamils living in this part of the country.

"We request His Excellency to arrange for a visit by a team of MPs to find out the facts and also for a judicial enquiry so that the affected persons could testify without any fear or reservation.

"The horrid experience faced by the Tamilians in Karnataka should find an end and the harmony should be re-established. We request His Excellency to do the needful so far as to enable the Tamils in Karnataka to live with equal rights as guaranteed by the Constitution of India".

***Text of the memorandum submitted to the Governor of Karnataka on Dec 17, 1991, which was later sent as a letter to the Prime Minister with modification in the last paragraph :***

"The unabated violence on the Tamils and their properties have gone the Frankenstein way since it began at the connivance of the very person who was to govern the State. It is all done under the pretext of opposition to the Supreme Court's verdict on the interim order of the Cauvery Waters Tribunal. New areas are being engulfed every passing day On the 15th instant, believe it, around 423 huts of the Tamils were torched and destroyed fully, and the gory sight of a leveled human settlement would tell its own tale of the intensity of the brutalities of the anti-Tamil outrage, which goes with the indirect participation or connivance of the chauvinist-oriented Karnataka police. The story is a repeat of the burning down of 2,C00 huts on both the sides of a tank at Rajarajeswari-nagar on the Mysore Road, a day or two back, or at Hosahalli, Dasarahalli, Kamakshipalayam, Basaveswaranagar, etc.

"Many Tamil women were raped. A pregnant woman had suffered abortion as she was hit on her stomach. Many women were undressed on the streets and made to run naked for cover. We have a written statement of a witness that the policemen themselves removed the sarees of some Tamil women at Hanumanthapuram and Sriramapuram areas. A Tamil family, which was to get its girl married soon, was looted and her gold ornaments worth Rs 50,000 were snatched away, besides robbing Rs. 30,000 in cash, which was meant to be spent on her marriage.

"The State-instigated anti-Tamil violence has driven the chauvinist lumpen hordes into inhuman brutes, whose only immediate and targeted mission appears to drive out the lakhs of Tamils from the city and the State. Their act of obtaining the ***patta*** for the sites the Tamils held and burning them before they were attacked and uprooted from their dwellings would stand a testimony for it.

"We, therefore, urge upon the Governor/ Prime Minister to kindly understand the plight of the Tamil minority in Karnataka, and

intervene to arrest this destructive trend which had assumed the parameters of being called a genocide. The extent of the loss of property of the Tamils would be around Rs. 100 crores.

"The Tamils' loss of confidence in the Karnataka Police is complete. The incident of locking up the very gates of the Governor's place itself would reflect the state of affairs in the State. We request you to please deploy immediate'y the contingents of the Army, if any further violence on Tamils are intended to be stopped, besides imposing the Presiden's rule for a short spell, in order that it could infuse confidence in the minds of the Tamil minority. Time is running out. We plead with you in all passion to please weigh the gravity of the present law and order situation in Bangalore, and offer the affected Tamils some succour and relief, as thousands of them (a newspaper had reported that it is 15,000; and those waiting to board the trains at the City Railway Station Station as 40,000) have lost their very homes and hearths and become refugees. Thus the problem has become a refugee problem too !

"We plead, as a measure of immediate relief, to

1) help to allow the Corporation community halls, Government Corporation schools, etc., to be used as safe sanctuaries for those who had fled their areas after losing all their belongings and out of fear, and thus provide them succour and relief ; and

2) take immediate and stern action against all those who were responsibie for organising the carnage."

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# Resolution

***Passed on Dec 18, 1991 at the meeting of the Bangalore Tamil Sangam to condemn the violence unleashed on the Tamils :***

It is becoming increasingly clear that the violent onslaughts on the Tamils unleashed, particularly in Bangalore, before and after the December 13, 1991 Karnataka Bundh, is a preplanned genocide. The rough estimate of the number of hutments burnt would be 15,000. Reports are pouring in that Tamil women were raped in many places. Dispossessing the ***thali*** (***mangalasutra***) of many Tamil women had widely taken place. Many women were undressed and made to run naked on the streets. Such outrages on women are reported to have been committed also by the policemen who joined the chauvinist hordes. The modus operandi everywhere was that the chauvinist marauders would seize the ownership document (***patta***) and burn it before they began their orgy of ransacking any Tamil's house ; and it is pointer to suggest that the prime object of the organisers of this violent carnival was to chase out the Tamils for ever from the State. As a result, the Tamils who boarded trains and buses as refugees, till now, would be around 50,000. Besides this, whomsoever tried to return to their localities, on the assumption that things have subsided, are being threatened of being burnt alive by the chauvinists who are on the watch out at places like bus stops. The refugees may therefore touch a mark of one lakh within a week or two, we apprehend.

Other than those Tamils who boarded trains and buses, without even clothes to change after they had lost all their properties, there are others in thousands, both rich and poor, who had taken refuge in the houses of their relatives and friends, outside the troubled areas in the city.

Having thus come to realise that there is no use seeking protection from the State Government, we urge upon the Government of India, through the Governor, to

1) arrange immediate relief for the Tamils who had lost their homes and hearths and go hungry without clothes to change ;
2) institute a judicial enquiry on the genocidal attacks launched on the Tamils by the very State Government ;
3) constitute and send a fact finding team of the Members of the Parliament to visit the affected areas and meet the remaining Tamils there, in order to assess the situation on their own ;
4) punish severely all those policemen who collaborated and participated in the chauvinist offensives on the Tamils ; and to recruit, in proportion to the population, and post Tamil policemen in all areas predominantly Tamil in composition.

***Text of the letter dated Jan 13, 1992 addressed to the Prime Minister and the Governor of Karnataka :***

***"Anti-Tamil Violence Continues"***

The two tempos arranged by the Bangalore Tamil Sangam to distribute relief materials like cloths and vessels to the residents of Sanjaynagar slum in Bangalore, whose hutments were burnt and razed to ground on Dec 13, 1991 Karnataka Bundh, were attacked near the Sampige Talkies at Malleswaram on Jan 5, 1992 at 4-30 p.m. There was chauvinist violence again at 7–30 p.m., and many buses and vehicles were reported to have been stoned.

A Tamil youth Suresh Babu (21) who was working for a courier service at Gandhinagar in the city was beaten to death by the chauvinists the same night, right inside the compound of the KCG Hospital at Malleswaram, where Suresh Babu's mother who works as a nursing superintendent stays in the quarters. The chauvinism-ridden police is trying to cover up this cold-blooded murder by concocting that the deceased stumbled on the ground and died.

In order to obtain a statement to that effect, the police were harassing the family of Mr. C. Mohan Raj, whose eldest son was

the victim Suresh Babu. His second son was detained and a statement telling that his brother died out of stumbling, and none killed him, was forcibly obtained from him.

The Assistant Commissioner of Police and the Circle Inspector of the Malleswaram area had threatened the father and his younger son yelling : "You Tamils should be kicked out of Karnataka !".

When they had failed in their efforts, they came out with a fancy story that the deceased had misappropriated some money from a courier service and was therefore killed.

Such instances of stray violence do continue on Tamils in Karnataka, even after a passage of a month after the Dec 13 Karnataka Bundh.

We request your goodself to please intervene to prevent this dangerous drift of ethnic persecution of Tamils by the Government and Police in Karnataka.

***Text of the letter dated Jan 13, 1992 addressed to the Prime Minister and the Governor of Karnataka :***

***"Genocidal Violence on Tamils Continue"***

It is four weeks past since the Government of Karnataka caused a carnage on Tamils in the State. But stray incidents of violent persecution of Tamils and driving them out of the State do continue on a low and unreported profile.

Mr. P. Shanmugam is a farmer born and brought up at Bhoodagiri in the Heggadedevanakote of the Mysore district bordering Tamilnadu. His family owned some lands and was cultivating sugar-cane. On Jan 9, 1992, three Kannada chauvinists came to them telling that the Tamils of the village should flee the State forthwith. They came again after the dusk with some more marauders and wielded choppers on Shanmugam's brother, Mr. Nagarathnam (42), and he sustained grave injuries, whereas Shanmugam escaped with minor injuries. His 7 year old daughter Nagajothi suffered a deep chopper cut on her head. Shanmugam's

wife Ravati and many other Tamil women in the neighbourhood were stripped and made to run for cover. The house was looted. Three other Tamil families suffered the same fate. The chauvinist marauders chopped off the ear of Mrs. Kamalamma, his neighbour. Her husband and son are still missing.

Shanmugam and others rushed to the Heggadedevanakote police station which is 25 Kms away. The Police official at the station had abused the Tamils, who went to complain, yelling : "Why are you still in Karnataka? You, Tamils, if continue here, you will be kicked further. Don't stand here ! Flee to Tamilnadu!"

On failing to get protection from the police, the Tamil families of the village boarded a train and reached Bangalore on Jan. 11, 1992. Mr. Nagarathnam died on reaching the Bangalore Station. The condition of Shanmugam's daughter is precarious. They could somehow take the dead body to their native town Ambur in the North Arcot district of Tamilnadu.

We request your goodself to kindly intervene to put an end to the continuing stray incidents of violence on Tamils, which goes on with the silent involvement of the police and the State Government.

***Text of the letter dated Jan 16, 1992 written to the Prime Minister and the Governor of Karnataka ;***

"Failure of Law and Order in Karnataka"

"As an aftermath of the State-organised violence on Tamils in Dec 1991, stray incidents of offensives on Tamils still continue. Kannada chauvinists had been threatening over years that one day or other they would break the main valve of the water main supplying water to the city of Bangalore at Kanakapura Road, for the Tamils constitute the majority in the city. As a prelude to their substantiating the threat, the water main on the Bore Bank Road was broken off by the chauvinists this month. Residents of the predominantly Tamil areas like Fraser Town, Cooke Town, Lingarajapuram, Sevanagar, Banasawadi, etc., go without water

for many days now. We enclose a photocopy of a photo published by the ***Deccan Herald*** of Jan 14, 1992.

The bus transport services between Karnataka and Tamilnadu are frozen, and are yet to be normalised, though a month has passed since the Dec 13, 1991 Karnataka Bundh. As a result, buses from Karnataka terminate at Attippalli, and those from Tamilnadu terminate at Hosur bus stand. Passengers from Tamilnadu reach the Tamilnadu-Karnataka border by vans and other conveyances. From the border similar vans pick up passengers to reach the Attippalli bus stand and board a bus to Bangalore thereafter. Knowing the plight of the passengers from Tamilnadu wanting to go to Bangalore, the Kannada chauvinist had organised regular dacoity on the Tamil passengers, in particular.

On Jan 3, 1992, two matador vans were standing on the Karnataka side of the border arch at about 23.30 hours, and were calling for passengers going to Bangalore to come and board. Hav. N. Rajasekaran (Army No. 1366224), a defence personnel at the MEG Centre in Bangalore, and his brother-in-law, Mr. Vasudevan, boarded the van. The van had some ten persons. A van without a number plate was following their van. There were around 8 persons in that van. The vehicles moved up to the Attippalli check post in Karnataka, and stopped aside. The occupants of both the vans surrounded Hav. Rajasekaran and Vasudevan with lethal weapons and attacked them. Mr. Rajasekaran had Rs. 40,000 and Mr. Vasudevan had with him Rs. 20,000 in cash. These amounts were robbed from them. Besides this, Mr. Rajasekaran had lost his clothes, a Titan quartz watch, an 8 gram gold ring studded with stones, a 16 gram gold chain, etc. Mr. Vasudevan had to part with a HMT automatic watch, 6 grams gold ring, and a gold chain. After having been robbed, these two Tamils went to the Attippalli police station to complain. But the Karnataka police refused to book a complaint. They were directed by the Karnataka police to report to the Tamilnadu police on the other side of the border. They had to therefore return to Hosur by walk and spend the rest of the night there. The Hosur police station could book a case only on Jan 5, 1992.

Cases of such dacoity are reported to be occurring on the Karnataka side of the border, and seem to have the Kannada chauvinists' involvement in them. The Karnataka police is unconcerned of such incidents of dacoity committed on the Tamils when the bus traffic between the States is at standstill since Dec 12, 1991.

These are instances of continuing offensives which still go on in the State. We request your goodself to kindly understand the plight of the Tamils in Karnataka and help to restore their confidence by initiating steps to protect the lives and properties of Tamils in the State.

***Text of the letter dated Jan 21, 1992 addressed to the Governor of Karnataka :***

***It is unending***

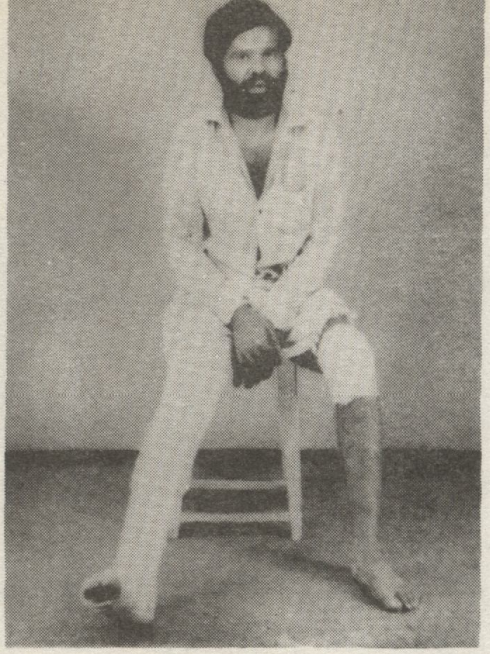
We have to bring to your kind notice that the Kannada chauvinists continue threatening, harassing and driving out Tamils who return to their areas where their hutments and houses were looted, razed and burnt during December 1991. There are instances of the chauvinists bringing in Kannadigas to make them occupy the houses of the Tamils who had fled due to the anti-Tamil riots.

Cinema talkies are being forbidden from screening Tamil movies. Nataraja Talkies at Seshadripuram was ransacked and its screen was burnt on Jan 19, 1992, for the reason that it resumed showing Tamil movies. Many Tamils, including women, were reported injured.

There are isolated cases of assaults on Tamils who happen to go alone. Looting houses of Tamils, which are on the fringes and secluded, is a new phenomenon.

The venom of chauvinism has percolated down the ranks of the police and they do nothing to prevent such crimes on Tamils.

We request you, again, to kindly initiate steps to right this dangerous drift and assure the Tamils a peaceful and honourable living.

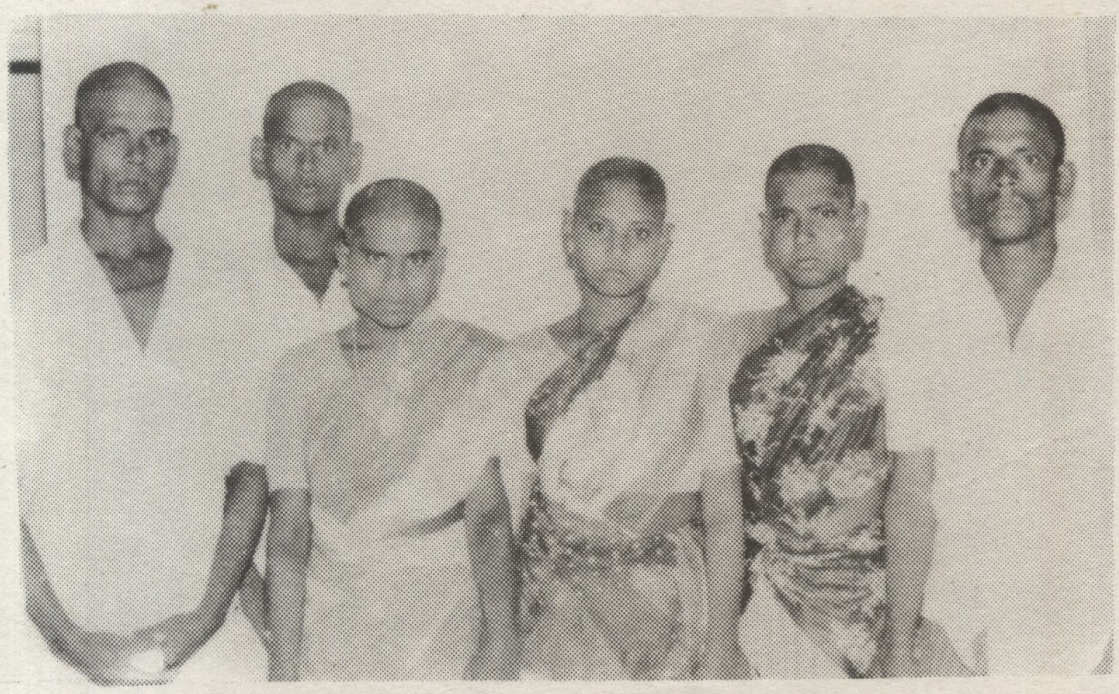


A Tamil victim of December'91 riots

At Chamundinagar

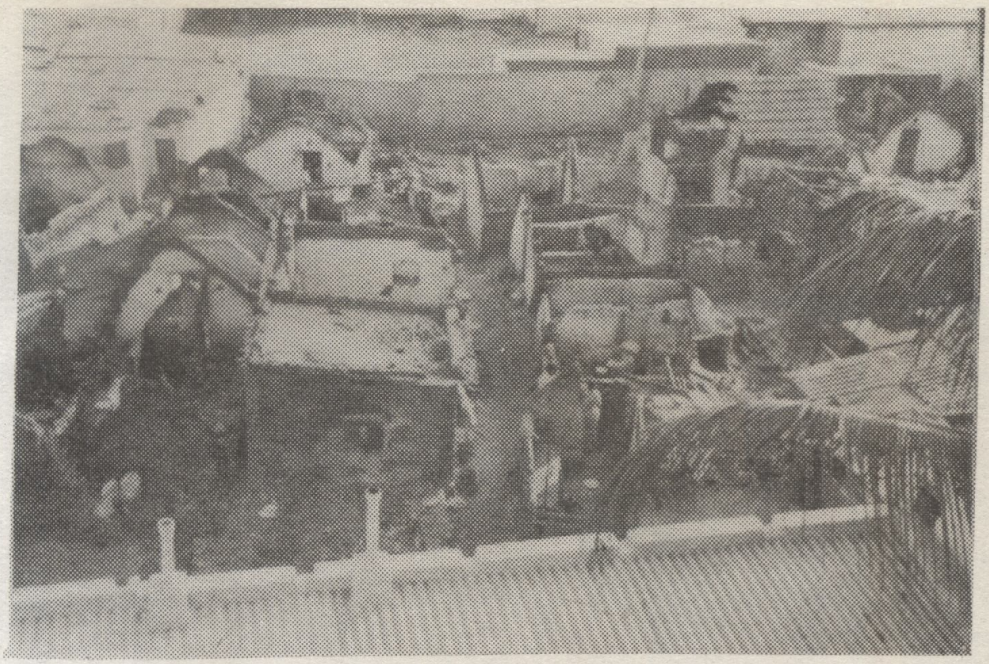
Lorries of tamilnadu registration burnt at nanjangud

Ransacking of a Tamil school at Yeshwantapuram was total

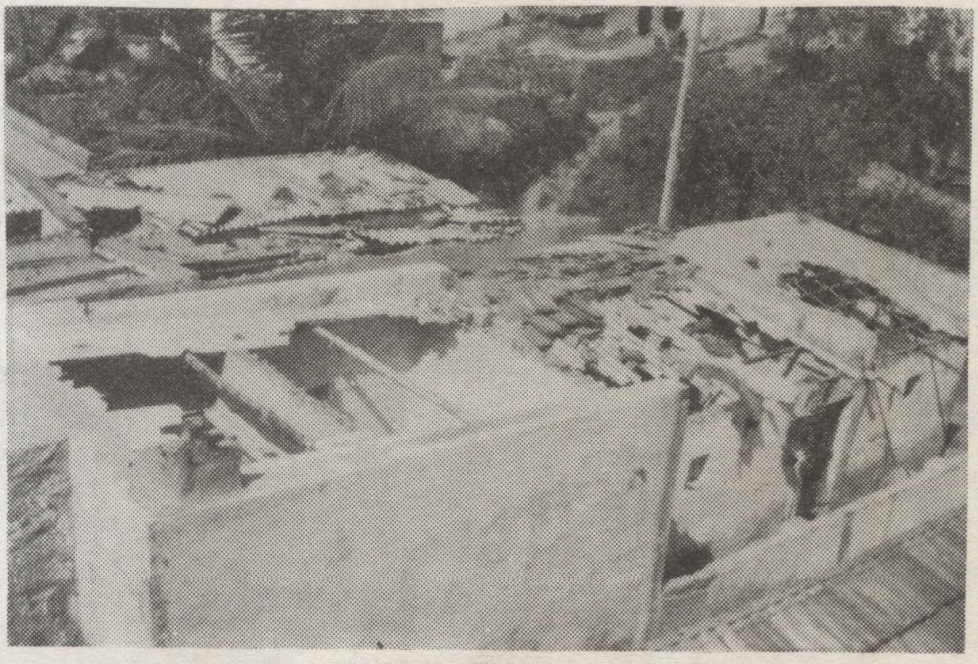


Refugee Tamils from Kollegal who were driven out after their heads were shaved off

Devastation at Mahatma Gandhinagar



Mark of Vandals; violence at Chamundinagar



A Scene at Peenya after the December violence

A shop looted at Kamalanagar

**Ransacked cement works of a Tamil**

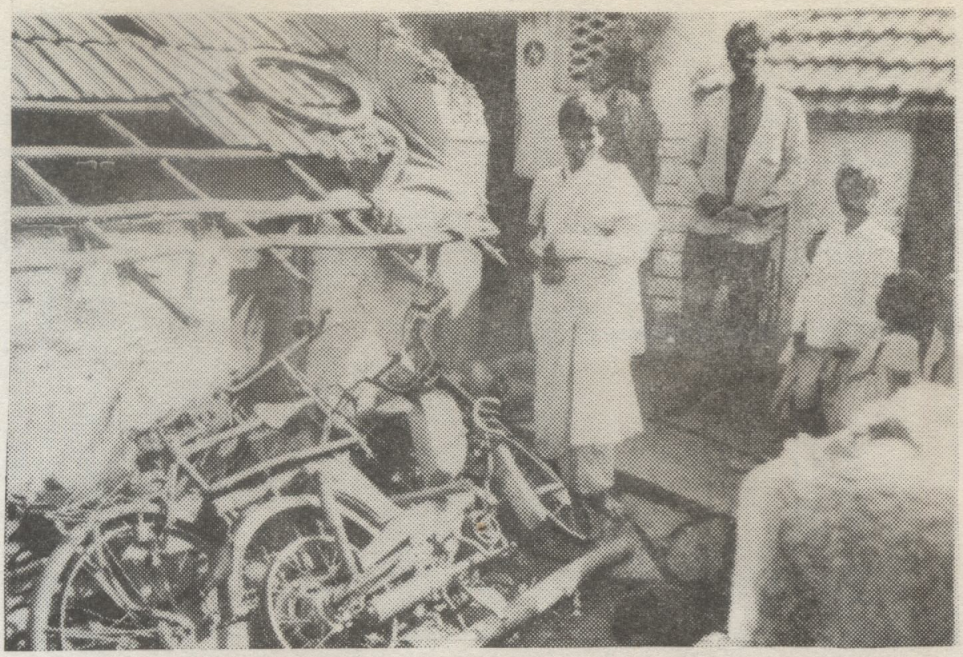
**Ransacked textile store of a Tamil**

**A Tamil - owned office**

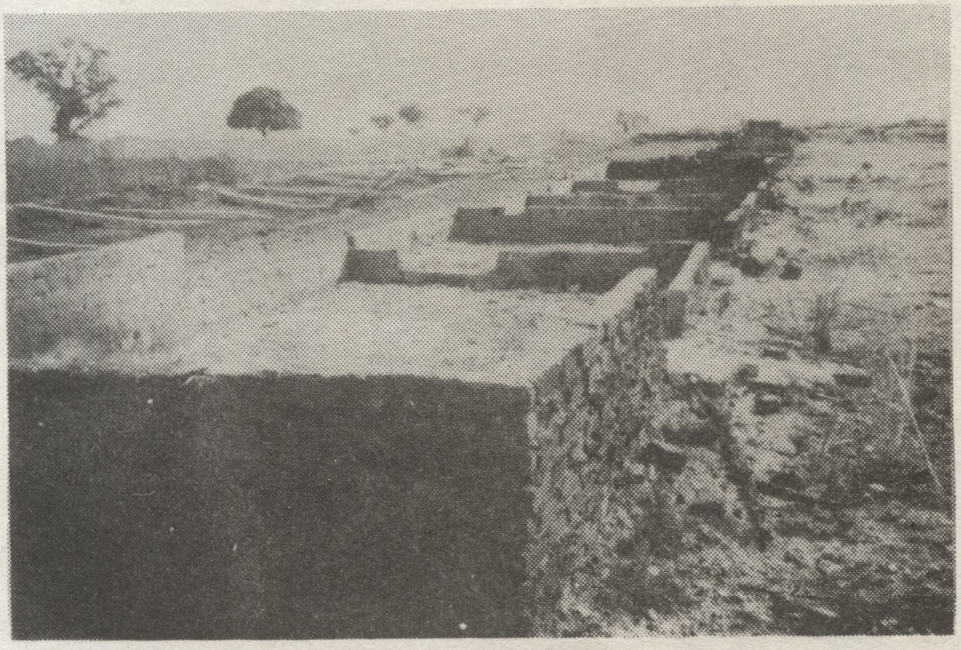
**Destruction at Mariappanapalaya**

**Razed to grounds**

**At Kollegal**

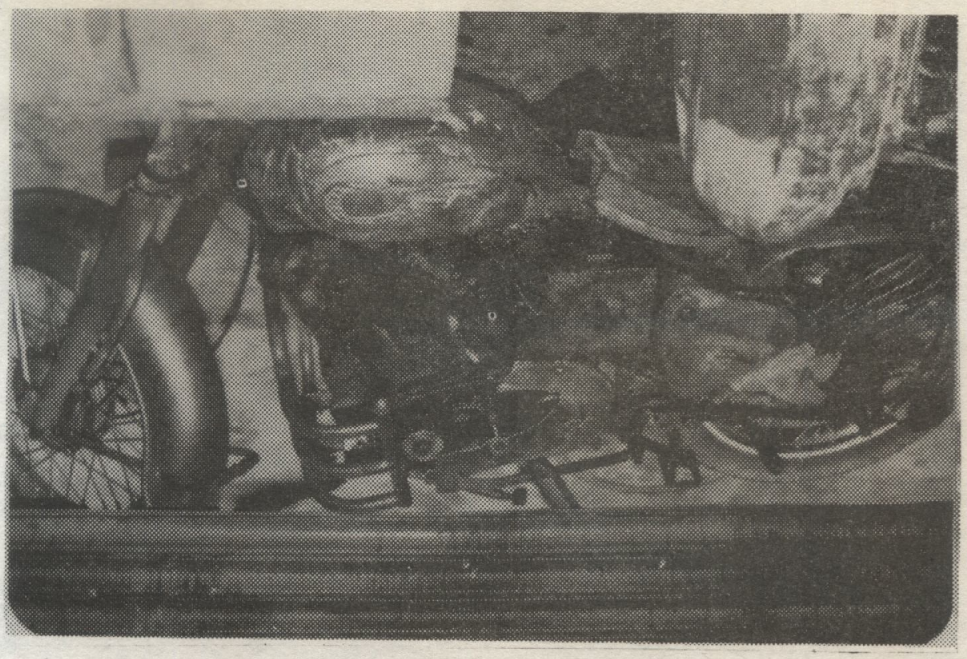


At Mahatma Gandhinagar



Flattened workers; quarters of Bannariamman Sugar Mills at Thagadur

Devastation at Sanjay Gandhinagar



Burnt vehicle after the anti-Tamil violence

Burnt vehicle after the anti-Tamil violence

Devastation at Sanjay Gandhinagar

This happened at Chamundinagar

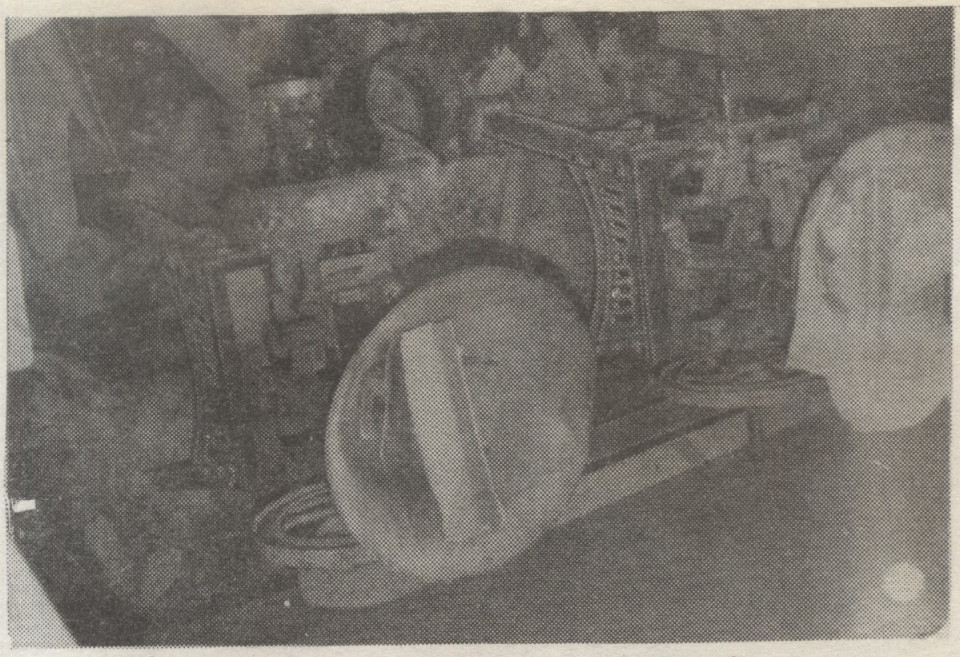
More that 400 Huts were burnt at Sanjay Gandhinagar

Homeless the Tamils had gone at Chamundinagar

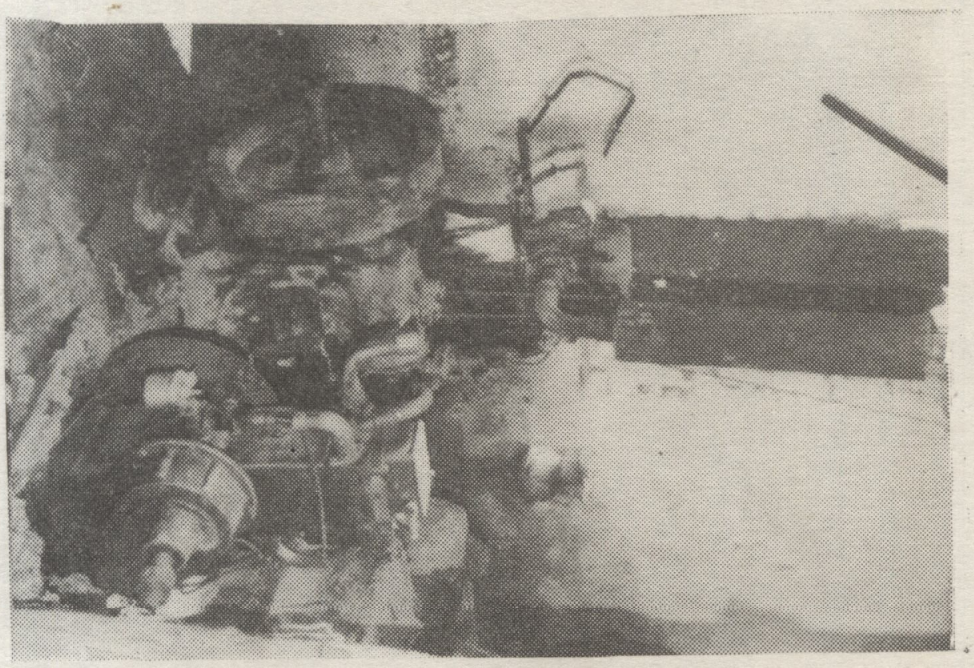
A demolished Tamil settlement on the Karnataka - Tamilnadu border

The fate of a Tamil's house

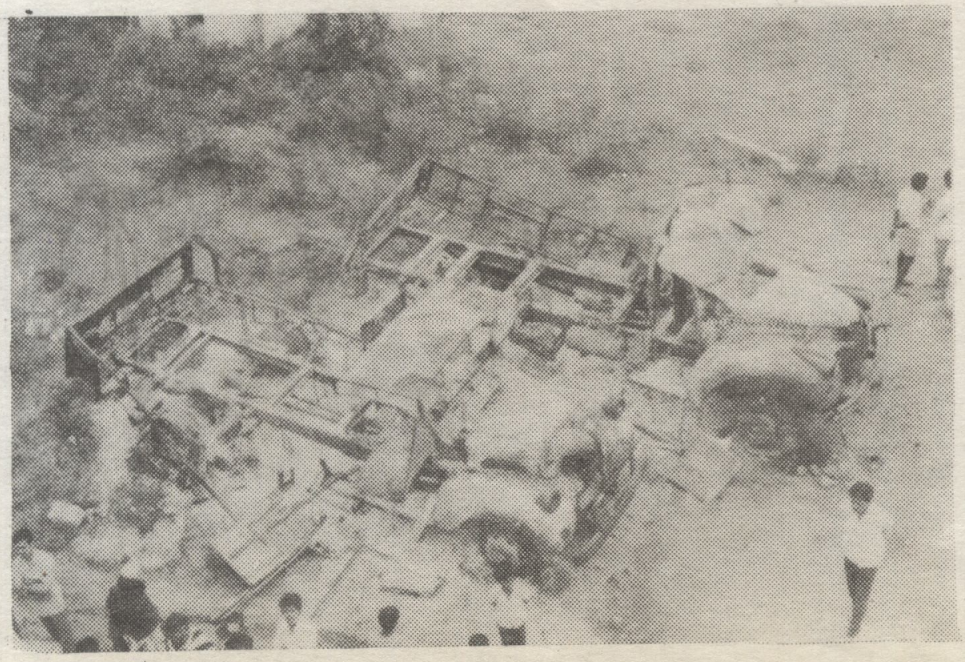
A textile store looted and burnt



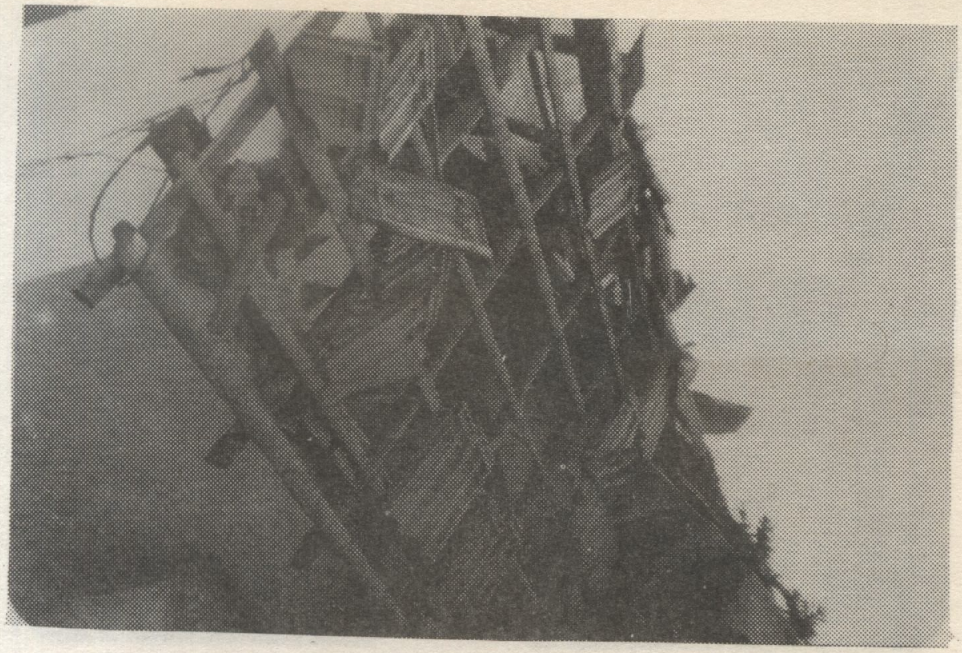
Ransacked flour mill of a Tamil



Ransacked workshop at Kurubarahalli

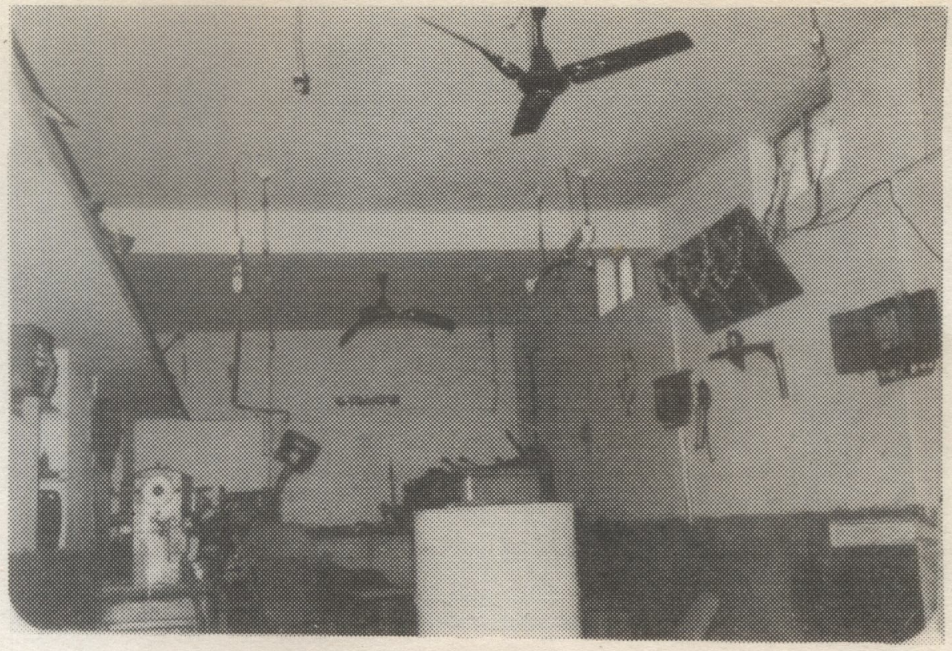


Lorries of tamilnadu registration burnt at nanjangud

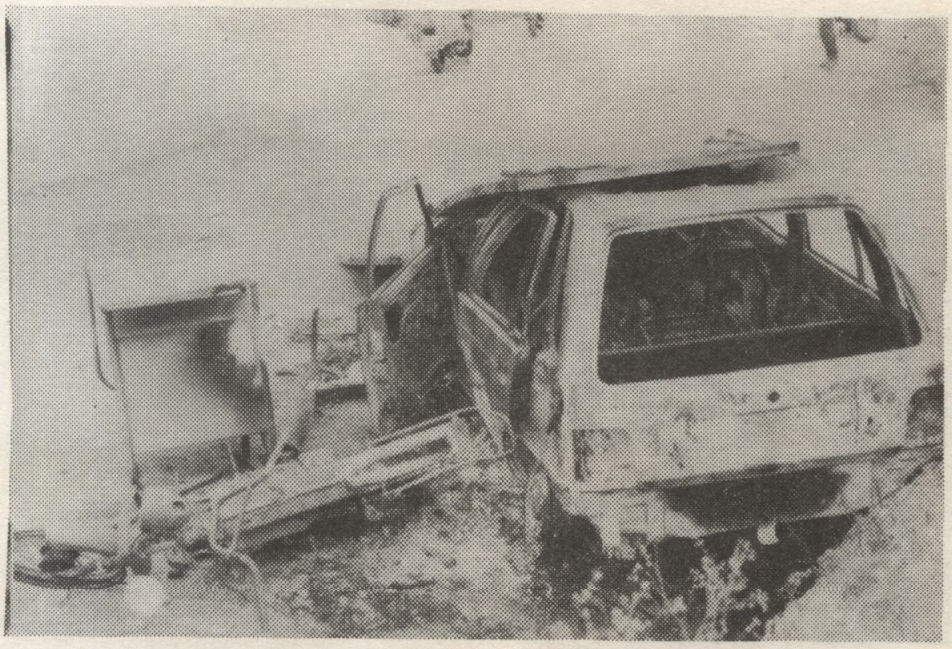


At Kamalanagar

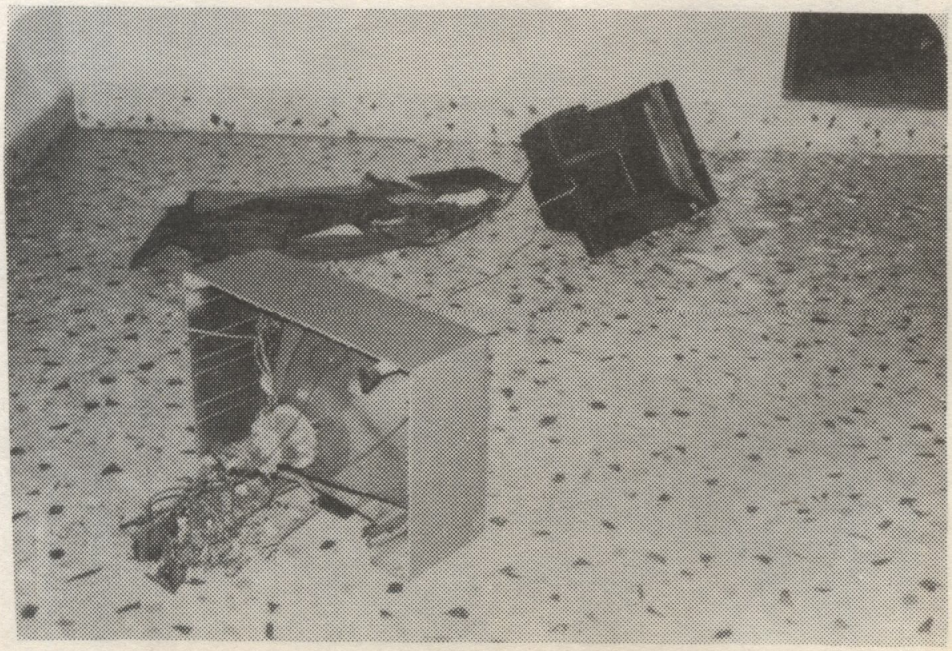
Arumugam, A victim of Anti - Tamil Violence



A ransacked office of a Tamil



Burnt vehicle at J.C.Nagar



A ransacked Tamil house

This is a piece of an account of the genocidal violence which the Government of Karnataka engineered in December 1992 on the pretext of showing the State's resentment on the Government of India gazetting the Interim Order of the Cauvery Waters Tribunal It was unbecoming of a State Government to have lit fire to the keg of the explosive chauvinist ethnic hatred, which the State's politics had nurtured over two decades. Mercenary goons looting, burning, killing, raping and molesting women, and throwing tiny babies into raging fires are the marks of the level to which the chauvinist psyche could dip the human values.

It is unbecoming of the Government at New Delhi to have behaved the way the Gandhian tale of three monkeys goes-not to see, not to hear, and not to speak of that sin committed on Tamils. Subtle was its approval of the ethnic outrage on Tamils. Both the State and Centre do owe an answer to the tiny little Tamil babies, who as witnesses to these orgies of violence, bend their eye-brows into a question : "Why all these persecution of their kind?". Prey that the answer does not take them to the brink.